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A study of Manipuri grammar

Chelliah, Shobhana Lakshmi, Ph.D.

The University of Texas at Austin, 1992

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A STUDY OF MANIPURI GRAMMAR

by

SHOBHANA LAKSHMI CHELLIAH, B.A., M.A.
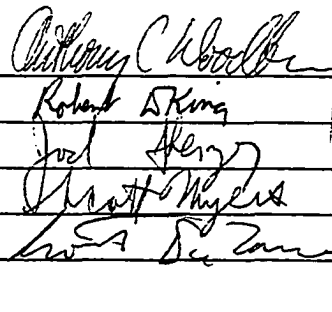
DISSERTATION

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in Partial Fullfillment

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for the Degree of

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1992

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I rarely came across a Manipuri speaker who was not willing to narrate a story or allow me tape a private conversation. Thanks for stories, monologues or the

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opportunity to tape a conversation to: Khelchandra Shastri; Rita, Bita and others at the Women's Hostel at Manipur University, Radhe Sham Singh and his daughter, Kokil, Cook Sharma, Janatam Begum and Thounaojam Harimohon Singh. Thanks to those that accompanied me to the less accessible communities in Manipur especially, E.M. Malik and Neeta Singh.

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A STUDY OF MANIPURI GRAMMAR

Publication No. _____

Shobhana Lakshmi Chelliah, Ph.D.
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Supervisor: Anthony C. Woodbury

This dissertation provides documentation on a major
Tibeto-Burman language, Manipuri, which is spoken in
Manipur State in Northeastern India. The description of
the phonology provides a statement of the phonemic
contrasts, including an account of tone, which illustrates
the application of a new approach to tonal systems, where
the importance of the phonetic implementation of lexical
tones through rules such as downtrend and reduced
prominence of tones across a word, are considered more

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significant than phonological rules such as tone spreading.
The description of the syntax begins with an examination of
the case system of Manipuri and argues for a distinction
between prototypical case systems where grammatical
relations are directly encoded in morphological marking,
and languages like Manipuri, where morphological marking
reflects the semantic roles of arguments. The second part
of the syntactic description provides an account of the
complementation system, establishing a correspondence
between the choice of complementizer and the evidential
value of the complement. The description of the morphology
consists of an account of verbal and nominal affixes and
enclitics in Manipuri, providing detailed statements about
both the formal and functional interaction of these
affixes. It is shown that a formal distinction can be
drawn between inflectional and derivational morphology and
that the linear ordering of the derivational affixes cannot
be derived on the basis of a templatic formula or the
interaction of phonology with morphology, but must be
described in terms of a categorially-based word syntax.
Finally, a description of the morphophonological rules and
fast speech phonology rules is provided. The interaction
of morphology and phonology is described in terms of the
theory of Lexical Morphology and Phonology. It is shown,
that while this theory is effective in describing the
morphophonological facts of Manipuri, it makes the wrong
predictions about word level semantics. I conclude that an
appropriate grammar of Manipuri should allow for autonomous
semantic and morphophonological representations.

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1 Introduction

This dissertation is a description of the Tibeto-Burman (hereafter TB) language Manipuri (M)[1] spoken in Manipur State which is in Northeastern India. In the classification of DeLancey (1987:800), M is part of a distinct sub-branch in TB which he calls Mikir-Meithei where both the languages Mikir and Meithei (Manipuri) are closely related to the Naga and Kuki-Chin sub-branches and both are spoken in Manipur and Assam. The classification of M is not certain (see Vogelin and Voegelin who place M in the Naga-Kuki-Chin sub-branch (1965:17). This is related to difficulties in differentiating TB languages which are genetically related from those which look similar

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[1] The majority of M speakers are Meithei (see below for a discussion of this ethnonym) and use the glossonym Meiteiron to refer to the language they speak when conversing in M. The meaning of Meitei is unclear but lon means 'language'. The glossonym Manipuri is most often used when conversing in English or Hindi. As pointed out in Promodini (1989), this term is derived on analogy with other place names in India such as Kanpur where the suffix -pur is of Arabic origin meaning 'state, place'. According to Promodini Devi, Manipuri is used in institutions run by the Central Government thus Manipuri Language Department and All India Radio News in Manipuri. Finally, the ethnonym Meithei is also used as the glossonym for M (cf. Pettigrew 1912, Voegelin and Voegelin 1965).

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because of the areal spread of features. Some genetic, rather than areal, shared TB features include phonemic tone, SOV word order, agglutinative verb morphology and a tendency to reduce disyllabic forms to monosyllabic ones (DeLancey, 1987). While M exhibits many of these features, it is an atypical TB language in a number of ways. For example, pronominal marking on the verb, which is considered an original Tibeto-Burman trait (Bauman, 1975:75, DeLancey, 1989),[2] is not present in Manipuri. Also, due to extensive cultural contact with Indo-Aryan languages (Bengali and Sanskrit, and in recent times Assamese and Hindi), M contains a large number of borrowed lexical items and some non-native constructions (such as the use of question words as heads of relative clauses).

1.1 Goals

The primary goal of this dissertation is to provide documentation on this major language of the Naga-Kuki-Chin family which has been studied little previously. This study should be of interest to researchers in linguistic universals in the fields of phonology, morphology and syntax.

In the field of phonology, I show that the theory developed by Pierrehumbert and Beckman (1988), to deal with Japanese stress is applicable to the M tone system. The

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[2] According to DeLancey (1989:316), although there is sufficient evidence to establish pronominal marking as an original PTB trait, there are still several researchers who argue that it is an innovation.

description shows that for lexically specified tones in M, phonetic implementation rules (such as downtrend and the reduced prominence of tones across a word), are more significant than phonological rules (such as tone spreading).

In the field of syntax, the M case marking system supports a hypothesis put forward by Dixon (1991), that a distinction should be drawn between prototypical case systems where syntactic relations are directly encoded in morphological marking, and languages like M where morphological marking reflects the semantic role of an argument.

Manipuri verbal morphology is elaborate: it consists of 31 derivational and 8 inflectional morphemes. The synchronic result of certain favored patterns of diachronic development (such as the use of lexical stems as the basis for affixes or function words and their gradual reduction to affixal status), is a multi-layered word structure where the linear ordering principle at work in each level of derivational morphology is distinct. This system presents a challenge to available principles of linear ordering in morphology (Di Sciullo and Williams, 1987; Kiparsky, 1982).

In the field of morphophonology, it is shown that morphology and phonology interact in interesting ways in M. The description of the morphophonology shows the effectiveness of the theory of Lexical Morphology and Phonology (Kiparsky, 1982; Mohanan, 1986) in describing this interaction. However, it will be seen that phonology-morphology mismatches result, since intraword levels do not always correspond to phonological levels (showing that

linear ordering in morphology cannot be derived directly through morphophonology).

This study will also be of use to researchers in comparative Tibeto-Burman studies and to those interested in the problematic reconstruction of PTB. As mentioned above, areal contact has led to a convergence in the linguistic structure of TB languages to such an extent that it is difficult to isolate real genetic relationships from similarities between languages due to contact phenomena.[3] This problem is compounded by the fact that descriptions of the over 100 languages in the TB family are scanty. The synchronic grammar of M presented here should fulfill the need for detailed descriptions of languages of the family.

From a functional perspective, the final chapter in this dissertation provides information on the category of evidentiality about which only a few major works are available (Chafe and Nichols, 1986; Willett, 1988). A significant part of the discussion deals with the interaction of complementation, choice of complementizer and the category of evidentiality. In this same chapter, I provide a description of various indirect speech acts in M, along with notes on the conventional appropriateness of their usage. Data on speech acts are mostly taken from standard European languages like English and it is this data which shapes speech act theories (Sadock, 1974; Searle 1975; Bach and Harnish 1979). By addressing constructional

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[3] See Hale (1982), for a review of the major classifications of Tibeto-Burman languages and DeLancey (1987), for a discussion of problems in reconstructing PTB.

issues for this a non-European language, I hope to broaden the pool of information researchers on speech acts have at their disposal.

The purpose of this dissertation is not to argue the particulars of a grammatical theory; however, I do utilize the mechanisms provided by various current theories for descriptive purposes. Furthermore, I present a more detailed discussion of a theory when its validity or inaccuracy is made apparent in the descriptive process. For example, as mentioned above, M tone is described using the theory developed by Pierrehumbert and Beckman (1988). I argue that the appropriateness of this theory for the description of M tone, lends validity to the theory itself. Phonological rules are framed using nonlinear phonological representations postulated in terms of feature geometry (Sagey, 1986; Levin, 1987). The interaction between morphology and phonology is described in terms of the theory of Lexical Morphology and Phonology (Kiparsky, 1982; Mohanan, 1986). I suggest a modification of this theory, couched in the theory of Autolexical syntax (Sadock, 1991; Woodbury, (in press)). As far as the description of M syntax is concerned, I utilize Binding theory from the theory of Government and Binding (Chomsky, 1982) to show that M phrase structure is flat. The structure of root sentences, subordinated clauses and word structure is presented along the lines of generative grammar, through phrase and word structure rules.

1.2 Organization

This dissertation consists of 11 Chapters. In the remainder of this chapter I will provide a brief historical background of Manipur to illustrate the language situation there. This will be followed by a description of my field work in Manipur, the method of data collection and how this data is presented in the dissertation. In Chapter 2 I present a sketch of the phonological system in M, including a description of the tone system. Chapters 3-6 present a discussion of the syntax of M: Chapter 3 describes the phrasal and major and minor lexical categories in M, Chapter 4 describes the case marking system, Chapter 5 describes sentence types and Chapter 6 describes patterns of subordination. Chapters 7, 8 and 9 characterize the affixal morphology, patterns of compounding, and the phenomena of morphological duplication or echo word formation (called lexical collocations here), respectively. Chapter 10 presents the morphophonology. Finally, Chapter 11 discusses indirect speech acts and the encoding of evidentiality in M grammar. Chapter 11 is followed by a list of References, the Appendix which consists of a list of the abbreviations used in morphological analysis and a sample text, and the author's Vita.

1.3 Social and historical background

Manipur is bordered by Burma to the East, Mizoram to the South, Nagaland to the North, and Assam to the West and

Northwest (see map on the following page)[4]. M is also spoken by minorities in Assam, Tripura, Burma, Bangladesh and Mizoram. By the latest official census available, there 8,789,22[5] speakers of Manipuri in Manipur state, out of a total population of approximately one and a half million. The minority languages of Manipur are various Naga languages (the major ones are Angami, Thankhul and Rongmei), and the Chin languages Thadou and Paite. Speakers of M are concentrated in the M valley and speakers of other Naga-Kuki-Chin languages live in the surrounding hills. M has the status of a lingua-franca and is used in daily transactions between the hill people and the plains people (Meitheis).

There are some important dates in the history of Manipur which have affected language and culture. In the 14th century Manipur was inhabited by members of seven exogamous clans, the largest of which was the Meitheis. These seven clans consolidated to form the Manipuri speaking population who call themselves the Meithei.

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[4] Note that these maps are approximations of maps produced by the Department of Tourism, Government of India in a pamphlet on Manipur (publication 1-TP(13) in November of 1986). They are meant to provide the reader with a general idea about the region surrounding M state and the location of the major cities in Manipur.

[5] This number is reported in the official census taken by the Indian government in 1987 (R.K. Birendra Singh, Census of India: 1981 (Paper 1 of 1987), Indian Administration Service, Manipur).

MAP 1:
LOCATION OF
MANIPUR IN INDIA

MAP 2: DETAIL OF NORTHEASTERN STATES

INDIA

BHUTAN   ARUNACHAL
ASSAM   NAGALAND
MEGHALAYA
BURMA
BANGLADESH   MANIPUR
TRIPURA   MIZORAM
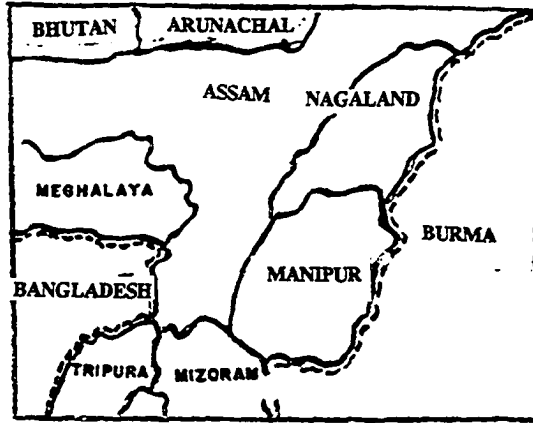
MAP 3: THE MAJOR CITIES OF MANIPUR STATE

MARAM

UKHRUL

TAMENGLONG

IMPHAL

M A N I P U R

MOIRANG

CHANDEL

CHURACHANDPUR

Between 1709-1748 Manipur was a monarchy ruled by Maharajah Garibniwaj who converted from the traditional animistic religion to Hinduism and instigated a mass conversion of the Meitheis. This had a monumental effect on Manipuri culture and language.

First, two groups of the Meithei population were exiled from the dominant M speaking areas in the Manipur plains to the surrounding hill areas. These groups are the Lois who resisted conversion to Hinduism and the Yaithibis who did not follow strictly enough the rituals and rules of Hinduism. These groups are fascinating from a socio-linguistic point of view since the M they speak was and is not influenced by Sanskrit and has therefore developed differently from the M dialects spoken in urban areas. This difference in dialects has been reinforced by the geographic and social isolation of these groups. Furthermore, in an effort to preserve their Meithei identity, the exiled groups have tried to align speech with the written language so that they speak a conservative, older version of M. Whereas once they were outcasts, they now guard their isolation, thereby reinforcing the factors which are a cause in the uniqueness of the dialects they speak.

Additionally, there was an influx of Brahmins (the highest caste in Hindu caste system), from various parts of North India into Manipur. This Indo-Aryan population intermarried with the Meitheis forming a racially distinct minority. The caste system, necessarily imported into Manipur as a part of Hinduism, assured the social segregation of this community which in turn resulted in the

Brahmin Manipuri speaking a distinct dialect of M.

Many scriptures of the original animistic religion and other historical documents in M were burnt in the mid 1700's.[6]   Hindu scriptures in Sanskrit were used for ritual purposes. Manipuri was written in the Bengali script instead of in the original Manipuri script.   The resulting contact between Sanskrit and M, although limited to religious contexts, resulted in the borrowing of lexical items.   Borrowing of Bengali kinship terms led to a simplification of kinship terminology (Promodini Devi 1990:105). Other consequences of language contact between M and Indo-Aryan languages is described in the following chapters.

From 1835 to 1947 Manipur was under British rule. During this time English medium schools were established in Manipur so that the children of the richer Meitheis who attended these schools became bilingual in English and

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[6] Manipuri became a written language sometime before 1800 A.D. Scholarship in this area is weak and for this reason there are widely divergent estimates about when Manipuri became a written language. Many Manipuri scholars claim that Meithei Meyek has been in existence since the 1st century A.D. (W. Tomchou Singh 1986:112-125). Damant (1875) and Hudson (1908) report the possibility that the Manipuri script, originated in 1540 A.D. from the Chinese writing system which was introduced to the Meiteis at this time under the influence of Chinese immigrants. From a linguistic point of view the important point is that M has had a long literary history.

Manipuri. Affairs of the state were also carried out in English. In 1949 Manipur was incorporated into the Indian Union at which time Hindi along with English was used for official purposes.

Today, although M speakers are for the most part monolingual, many can understand Hindi and English through constant exposure to the Hindi and English news and entertainment media. Educated speakers (those who have the equivalent of a high school education) have at least a marginal competency in English.

There is a resurgence of interest in the Manipuri of pre-Hindu times. This includes an effort to revive the original writing system of M and a downplaying of the role of Hindi in Manipuri society. Manipuri is the sole language of communication between Meitheis, so much so that in the English medium Manipur University classes are more often taught in Manipuri than in English or Hindi.

1.4 Dialects

This dissertation is a study of the Imphal dialect of Manipuri which is considered to be the standard M dialect. It is difficult to assess the exact number of M dialects in existence. It is clear that the groups that were segregated due to religious reasons (Lois, Yaithibis) speak a different dialect. Of these the documented ones are Sekmai spoken in Sekmai village 19km north of Imphal (see Haobam Sarojkumar Singh 1988), and Pheyeng spoken in Pheyeng village 2km south of Imphal consisting of 4000 households (see Rajkumari Pasotsana Devi, 1988). It is not clear if Sekmai and Pheyeng are spoken by the Lois or Yaithibis groups.

As already mentioned there exists a Brahmin Meithei dialect. I am not aware of any documentation about this dialect. Also there are pockets of Muslim Manipuris who speak a distinct dialect of Manipuri. This population is the progeny of the intermarriage of Muslim traders and laborers with Meithei women. These Muslims migrated to Manipur from the surrounding areas which were under Muslim rule at that time. Muslim Manipuri's are bilingual in Arabic (which they must learn in order to read the Koran) and Manipuri. I have heard of their dialect of M characterized as being highly "bookish" which reflects that their speech does not exhibit the fast speech phenomena (see Chapter 10) seen with in other M dialects.

Other dialects mentioned in the literature are the Kwatha dialect spoken in the village of Kwatha which is situated on the Indo-Burmese border near Moreh. The

population of Kwatha is composed of descendants of a group
which tried to overthrow the Manipuri monarch in the 14th
century. Thoudam (1980) also lists the following dialects:
Kakching, Thanga, Nongmaikhongm, Ngaikhong, Moirang,
Langthel, Palel and Tokcing. I am unaware of any study
which describes these dialects and it is difficult to say
if these are simply geographical distinctions or truly
distinct dialects.

1.5 Discussion of the literature

For a language spoken by such a large number of
people, M is notably under described. Existing works on
the Imphal dialect of M can be divided into four groups.
The work of British missionaries/ administrators the most
important of which are Primrose (1887, 100 pages) and
Pettigrew (1912, 111 pages), who provide useful word lists,
conversational sentences and list of idioms which cannot be
found elsewhere. Pettigrew is especially insightful with
regards to the verb morphology. However, neither of these
works is exhaustive in its description: much of the
affixal morphology is not described, tones are not marked
or described in any detail, textual information is not used
and there is little or no description of the morphosyntax.

Second, there are a number of pedagogical works on M
written in Manipuri or English (a new grammar comes out
almost every year). Since these are written on the model
of Sanskrit grammar many of the grammatical categories
(such as evidentiality) are ignored, this in turn leads to
an incorrect analysis of the morphology. However, some
these grammars, such as Tomchou (1986) are useful in that

they provide lists of noun and verb roots with the tones marked.

Third, is the body of literature by native speaking Manipuri linguistics students which consists of 27 Master's theses and Ph.D. dissertations. For the most part these provide additional examples to support analyses of M grammar given in Thoudam (1979). There are two that are useful: (1) Sushila Ningthongjam's 1982 Master's thesis on Manipuri morphology which includes a near exhaustive list of verbal and nominal affixes in M with examples and (2) the 1987 Ph.D. dissertation of Nongthombam Nonigopal on Manipuri affixal morphology which provides appendices with lists of compounds, roots and examples of words that have from 1 to 10 affixes. Both these works were a useful guide in my investigations.

Finally, there is the work of non-Manipuri linguistics writing in Hindi and English: Grierson from the Linguistic Survey of India (1904), Hodson (1908) and more recently D.N.S. Bhat and his consultant and co-author M.S. Ningomba. The work of Bhat and Ningomba (1986a, 1986b), has been the most influential work on Manipuri since P.C. Thoudam's (1979), Ph.D. dissertation. Only a few topics have been covered: no work has been done on tone, phonology or subordination. Bhat (1991) provides an account of case marking in M. It is unfortunate that many of the conclusions reached in Bhat and Ningomba (1986a) and Bhat (1991) are simply wrong because only elicited data has been used and results have not been checked with data from naturally occurring speech. See for example Chapter 4 where I compare their analysis case marking with the

conflicting analysis supported by my data.

1.6 Details of fieldwork

My fieldwork on M was carried out in three stages. Preliminary fieldwork was conducted with a native speaker of Manipuri, Miss N. Promodini, in a Field Methods class conducted by Dr. K.V. Subharao at the University of Delhi in 1984.

In June of 1986, I spent three weeks at Manipur University, Canchipur, Manipur, where I completed sixty hours of fieldwork with ten bilingual Manipuri-Hindi or Manipuri-English speakers. The consultants were: Mr. Naorem Saratchandra Singh, a graduate student of Linguistics at Manipur University; Miss Sushila Ningthonjam, a Manipuri language teacher; Mr. Radhe Sham, the Deputy-head librarian at the Manipur University Library and Miss Thoidingjam Purnima Devi, a library assistant; Mr. M.C. Sharma, the owner of a restaurant; Mr. Ningomba Mangla, a high school student; and the gardener and the cook at the University Guest House. I also worked with a monolingual Manipuri speaker, Rasesowri, a young village girl who worked as Mr. Radhe Sham's maid. In July of 1986, I also completed 15 hours of fieldwork in New Delhi with two University of Delhi trilingual Manipuri-English-Hindi speakers, Mr. Thongram Birjit Singh and Mr. Bishwajeet Sharma. During this trip to Manipur, my research consisted mainly of the tape-recording, transcription and translation of texts. Help for transcription and translation work was given mainly by Mr. Naroem Saratchandra Singh and Miss Sushila Ningthonjam. This research was partially funded by

a Graduate Student Research Grant from the University of Texas at Austin.

In 1989, I received a nine month fellowship from the American Institute of Indian Studies, Chicago, to conduct further research on M. During the nine month period when I was on this fellowship, I conducted fieldwork with native speakers of Manipuri in Delhi from September 12 to October 14, 1989 and January 8 to February 7, 1990, and in Imphal, Manipur from October 15 to December 11, 1989 and from February 7 to April 27, 1990.

In Delhi, I was able to contact and hire three native speakers to work with me as language consultants on a regular basis. The speakers are: Mr. Thongram Birjit Singh (who had also worked with me in 1986); Ms. Takhellankam Geetarani and Ms. Pravabati Chingangbam. These speakers were requested to help me with a variety of tasks: Ms. Takhellankam Geetarani and Ms. Pravabati Chingangbam assisted in the transcription and word to word translation of a number of Manipuri texts that I had collected during my trip to Manipur in 1986; I used these two consultants and Thongram Birjit Singh to elicit information on tone and stress in M; Pravabati Chingangbam and Thongram Birjit Singh were hired to translate chapters from a pedagogical M grammar written in the M; finally, all three consultants were trained to answer a questionnaire[7]

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[7] The questionnaire consists of 840 verbal sequences (taken from various texts, published materials, and unpublished thesis and dissertations on Manipuri) and two pages of questions and instructions on how to answer the

devised by me on M verb morphology.

In Manipur, I hired one regular language consultant:
Mr. Thounaojam Harimohon Singh. Mr. Singh worked with me
from October 23rd to December 10th, for two to three and
1/2 hours daily. During my second trip to Manipur, Mr.
Singh worked with me for three to three and 1/2 hours
daily. Our elicitation sessions were generally divided
into two parts. During the first half, we would work on
texts that had been transcribed and translated previously.
Besides checking on the transcription and translation of
these texts, I asked specific questions on morphology that
I was unsure of. Typically, these questions involved
getting minimal pairs: a construction where an unknown
form was used was opposed to a construction where it was
not used, or where another form was substituted in its
place. A paraphrase was then elicited for the resulting
constructions. Manipulating the forms resulted in
ungrammatical forms which yielded useful negative evidence.

During the second half of our sessions, I elicited
information on specific topics including: co-reference,
conjunction, relative clause formation, complementation and
other types of subordinate clauses, negation,
interrogativity, grammaticalization of verb and noun stems,
and evidentiality, quotative morphology and tense, aspect
and mood morphology. Much of our work on verb morphology
consisted of working together on sections of the
questionnaire on verb morphology mentioned above. I made
extensive use of material from texts that I had collected

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questionnaire.

and of the Master's theses and dissertations written for the Linguistics Department, Manipur University to provide me with actual M constructions on which to base my questioning. This strategy helped me to avoid asking for M equivalents to English sentences which in turn avoided the possibility of eliciting direct translations. As the dialect of English spoken by HM was quite a bit different from mine, in addition to having him give me a free translation of Manipuri sentences or forms elicited, I asked for a description of the situations in which they might be used.

Mr Singh also: provided me with some raw data by allowing me to tape a few narrations by him about his life experiences; worked at home on the broad phonemic transcriptions of 10 texts previously collected by me. These transcriptions were then used as aids during their actual transcription and translation. Mr. Singh was also hired to translate from Manipuri to English the contents of two M.A. theses written for the Department of Linguistics, Manipur University. I was extremely fortunate in procuring a talkative and intelligent consultant who frequently provided insights that opened new avenues of investigation.

During my second stay in Manipur, I also hired a second language consultant, Ms. Janaton Begum, with whom I met for one month, for one and a half hours, three to four times a week. My primary aim in hiring Ms. Begum was to get additional input on M morphology. Through the native speaker judgments that she has provided me with, I have also been able ascertain, to some degree, what differences there are between her speech (dialect of Muslim Meitheis)

and the speech of Mr. Singh (dialect of Hindu Meitheis):
Ms. Begum has provided me with plenty of data in the form
of monologues on a variety of topics. Finally, this
informant also worked with me on the translation and
analysis of a recorded conversation.

After my sessions with Mr. Singh and Ms. Begum, I met
for one hour from five to six times a week, with three
native speakers of Manipuri: Ms. Heisnam Ranjana Devi, Ms.
Kakchingtabam Amita Devi and Ms. Kshetrimayum Meena Devi.
These three consultants assisted my research in number of
ways: (1) they provided me with raw data (in the form of
conversations, translations from English to Manipuri of
comic book stories, narration of traditional folk tales);
(2) they guided my efforts in reading the (Bengali) script
used in writing Manipuri; (3) they procured for me copies
of traditional grammars and books on Manipuri language used
at the college level in Manipur. (4) their most important
task was to converse with me in Manipuri in order to
facilitate my learning of the language.

Finally, every Saturday beginning with February 24th,
I met for approximately 2 hours with three other native
speakers: Ms. Laishram Sheila Devi, Ms. Thongam Pishakmaha
Devi and Ms. Khurajam Meena Devi. These three speakers
were hired to provide me with alternative versions of
traditional folk tales and paraphrases of monologues on
various topics previously recorded and analyzed by me.

I have collected a total of 35 texts from both male
and female native speakers, speakers of different dialects
of M and speakers of different social classes and

educational backgrounds. Of 35 texts recorded, 30 were transcribed; 17 were translated and 12 were studied in some detail. These 12 are used to provide illustrative sentences in this dissertation. Table 1 gives a list of the texts that will be cited in this dissertation along with information on the narrator, and the consultant used for the transcription and translation of the text.

Column 1 gives the abbreviated title of text as it appears in citations in the dissertation; Column 2 gives the full title of the text, along with an English translation and/or explanation of the contents where necessary and Column 3 gives the name of narrator(s), along with his/her/their sex, age, and occupation.

Table 1: A list of the texts cited in this dissertation

əMUK	əmuktəŋ khənthəsi (Let's at least think about it once) about	A radio play in Manipur education
RFC	Conversation between Rita and friends	Three females, early 20's undergraduates
ELECT	Election meeting announcement	unknown recorded on the street
Həng	Həŋoy əməsəŋ kəy (Rabbit and Tiger)	A traditional folk tale Radhe Sham Singh
HH	Hənubə hənubi pan thabəgi punga wâri (Fireside tale of the old man and woman).	L. Kalachand Singh, 66, male tells M stories on M Radio
KK	Kekruhənjəbə kowəy (The one called Black	Naroem Saratchandra Singh, 30's male graduate student
Laybək	Laybəknə təmbə khətthokpə yade (It is impossible to change fate)	L. Kalachand Singh

HMLET	letter from Harimohon to me	
MLET	Letter from Meena Devi to me	
Mərup	Mərup ənikhək (The two friends)	L. Kalachand Singh
RSS	Conversation between a professor and student	
Shakun	Shakuntala (retelling of an Indian classic by Rabindranath Tagore	Ranjana Devi, 20's, female graduate student

Table 1 cont...

SS	Sǝmpenu Sǝwaynu	Resowsari female teenager, worked as a maid servant
Soybǝ	Soybǝ (Mistake)	Geetarani female, 20's undergraduate student
TPT	Tǝpta (The Boogie man)	Radhe Sham Singh a male in his early 50's, University librarian

In the case of conversations, names have been changed to ensure the privacy of the speakers and the people they are speaking about.

1.7 Works collected

During my trips to Manipur, I made an effort to collect as many materials, published and unpublished on M with a view to: using these works as sources of data to assist in my investigation; checking on previous grammatical descriptions; and importing these materials to this country so that they are more accessible to western scholars. I collected materials from the Manipur University Linguistics Department and main library, research scholars working on M dialects and from book stores in Imphal and Delhi. Works written in M or Hindi were translated with the help of native speakers. A complete listing of the works collected can be found in Chelliah (1990b). In section 1.5, I provide a discussion of the major works used in this dissertation.

1.8 Abbreviation Conventions

Illustrative examples are taken from three sources: M texts; material elicited during fieldwork sessions with my consultants and data from the many published or unpublished works on M. The source of each illustrative example is given on the lower right hand side of the example. Keys to the abbreviation conventions used in this referencing are given below. Elicited material is referenced in the following way: the consultant's name (abbreviated according to conventions given in Table 2), followed by a notebook number, page number and item number.

Table 2: Abbreviation conventions for consultant names

Bemcha Devi	BMD
Bishwajeet Sharma	BS
Heisnam Ranjana Devi	RANJ
Janaton Begum	JB
Kakchingtabam Amita Devi	AMIT
Khuraijam Meena Kumari Devi	KMEENA
Kokil	KOK
Ksh. Meena Devi	KMD
Laishram Sheila Devi	LSD
Nameirakpam Pramodini Devi	PROM
Ningomba Mangala	NM
Pravabati Chingangbam	Prb
Takhelhambam Geetarani	GR
Thongam Pishakmaaha Devi	PSK
Thongram Birjit Singh	BJ
Thounaojam Harimohon Singh	HM

Data from texts is referenced with the abbreviated title (as given in Table 1) of the text followed by the sentence number.

Data taken from the available literature on Manipuri is referenced in the following way: the name or the author (a complete reference to the work is given in the bibliography and the names of the authors' are abbreviated according to conventions given in Table 3), followed by the page number and item number. Sometimes a item number is not provided by the author, in these cases, I have provided the item with a number, beginning my numbering with the first item on the page.

Table 3: Abbreviation conventions for author names

Name of author	Year of work cited	Abbre-viation
Chungkham Yashawanta Singh	1987	YS
G.H. Damant	1875	Damant
D.N.S. Bhat and M.S. Ningomba	1986b	BN
Ibemhal Devi	1975	Ibem
Inder Singh	1975	IS
Khelchandra	1964a	Khel
Madhubala Devi	1979	MD
Nameirakpam Pramodini Devi	1989	PD
R.W. Pettigrew	1912	Pt
A.J. Primrose	1887	Pr
Sushila Ningthonjam	1982	SN
P.C. Thoudam	1980	PCT
Nonigopal Singh	1987	NGS

Words from Sushila Ningthonjam's thesis were discussed with HM who provided sentences illustrating the use of these words: these examples have been indicated by giving SN's name in parenthesis, before the reference to the example provided by HM (e.g., (SN)HM12.2). If an author is cited for a work different from the one listed in Table 3, the year of the work is also given.

All illustrative examples are given in bundles of four to five lines where: the first line represents a broad phonemic transcription of the utterance; the second line gives a morphemic analysis of each word; the third line

gives a gloss of the individual morphemes; and the fifth
line gives a gloss of each word; for sentences, a sixth
line is provided with a free translation of the sentence.
In the case of compounds and additional line is provided
identifying the category of each word in the compound. In
all cases, morphological analysis is provided by myself not
the author from whom the example is taken.

Chapter 2

2 Sketch of the Phonological system

The sound system of M consists of 24 consonants and 6 vowels. This first section of this chapter is a description of these consonant and vowel phonemes. This is followed by a description of syllable structure and tone in M.

2.1 The consonant phonemes

In this section I describe the consonant phonemes in M. Tibeto-Burmanists will recognize the peculiarity of this system: closely related languages, both in a geographical and genetic sense, such as Tangkhul Naga (Arokianathan, 1980), do not exhibit the voiced unaspirated and voiced aspirated series that M does. This feature of the M consonant system can be attributed to the impact of large scale borrowing of Indo-Aryan words into M.

2.1.1 Contrastive Distribution

An inventory of the consonant phonemes in Manipuri is given in Table 1.

Table 1. Chart of Consonant Phonemes

	Labial	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Laryngeal
Stops	p	t		k	
	ph	th		kh	
	b	d		g	
	bh	dh		gh	
Affricates			č		
			čh		
			ǰ		
			ǰh		
Fricatives		s			h
Nasals	m	n		ŋ	
Lateral/Flap		l			
Trill		r			
Semivowels	w		y		

The phonemic status of the voiceless unaspirated stops /p/, /t/ and /k/, and the aspirated stops /ph/, /th/ and /kh/, is established through the minimal pairs in (1). Note that roots may be lexically marked for high tone (indicated by an acute accent); unmarked stems have low tone. The details of the tone system are described in section 2.3.

(1) pá   'read'   phá   'catch'
    tá   'hear'   thá   'send'
    ká   'climb'   khá   'be bitter'   (PCT)[1]

The phonemes /b/ and /d/ occur in word initial position in borrowed words only (see examples (3a,c,and e). The voiceless stops /p/ and /t/ contrast with the voiced stops /b/ and /d/ respectively, in word medial position in a limited number of environments such as the kinship terms in (2).

(2) a. ipá   'grandfather'   PR1989.27
    b. ibay   'elder male cross-cousin'   PR1989.27
    c. itu   'wife   PR1989.25
    d. indon   'younger maternal aunt'   PR1989.25

The phoneme /g/ appears in all positions in borrowed words only.

The voiced aspirated stops /bh/, /dh/ and /gh/, appear only in borrowed words.[2]   This is illustrated in (3), where all words are borrowed from Hindi; M has also borrowed words from Bengali and Assamese.

---

[1] Forms followed by (PCT) are taken from Thoudam (1989), non-indexed forms are taken from my fieldnotes.

[2] Voiced stops can be found in ideophones (see Chapter 9).

(3) (a) /b/   budhi   'wisdom'   HH53
    (b) /bh/   bhay   'brother'   RSS 31
    (c) /d/   dan   'charity'   IS33.2
    (d) /dh/   prədhan 'top'   Election16
    (e) /g/   gunda   'bandit'   Khel80
    (h) /gh/   ghyan   'understanding'   RSS143

The phonemic status of the fricatives /s/ and /h/, and the affricates /č/, /čh/, /ǰ/ and /ǰh/, is established through the minimal pairs in (4).

(4) (a) /s/   sən   'cow'
    (b) /h/   hən   'first'
    (c) /č/   čan   'have a great love'   HH1
    (d) /čh/   čhana   'strainer'   IS41.12
    (e) /ǰ/   ǰam   'black plum'   IS42.1
    (f) /ǰh/   ǰhan   'symbol'   IS43.4

Note that /čh/, /ǰ/ and /ǰh/ contrast in borrowed words only. Borrowed words that have /š/ in the originating language, are borrowed as [s]: thus kənstitusən 'constitution' (Ibemal82.23).

Finally, the phonemic status of the nasal stops, liquid and semi-vowels is established through the minimal pairs in (5).

```
(5) (a)    /m/    mâ     'bed bug'
    (b)    /n/    ná     'ear'
    (c)    /ŋ/    ŋá     'fish'
    (d)    /l/    lá     'basket'
    (e)    /w/    wâ     'bamboo
    (f)    /y/    yâ     'tooth'
```

The trill /r/ occurs in borrowed words: compare <u>rəŋ</u> 'color' and <u>ləŋ</u> 'noise, din'.

2.1.2 Free variation

As noted above, /č/ and /s/ are phonemes in M. Thus they contrast in both initial and medial position as seen by the minimal pairs in (6):

```
(6a)  məčasu              (6b)  məsa
      mə-ča    -su              mə-sa
      nm-small-also             3P-face
      the small one also        his face        HM25.25.1
```

```
(6c)  ča 'eat'            (6d)  sá 'hot'
```

However, /s/ and /č/ both have the allophones [s] and [š], it is often hard to tell whether a segment is underlyingly /č/ or /s/. /č/ has three unconditioned phonetic variants [s], [š], and [č]. Thus the underlined phones in (6e) and (6f) may occur as [č], [s] or [š].

```
(6e)  čin    'mouth'                            HM25.26
(6f)  ča     'to make'                          HM25.26
```

The phoneme /s/ also has two unconditioned phonetic variants: [s] and [š]. Thus the underlined phones in (6h) and (6i) can occur as [š].

(6h) <u>s</u>on   'be weak'   HM25.103.4
(6i) <u>s</u>enbə 'to cowherd'   HM.14.32

Due to fairly arbitrary and often historically unmotivated spelling conventions, M words with /s/ may be represented in the Bengali script with the symbol for [s], [š] or [č]. These conventions are followed for the transliteration of M into the Roman alphabet and often for phonemic transcriptions (see Bhat and Ningomba (1986a), Devi (1979), and Nonigopal (1987), for example). For this reason, different transcriptions for the same word can be found: thus the word 'die' may be listed as <u>č</u>i (PCT227.11) or <u>s</u>i (NG191.3). The aspirated bilabial stop /ph/ varies freely with the labiodental fricative [f]: thus <u>Imphal</u> (the capital of Manipur), may be pronounced [imfal] or [imphal] and <u>phábə</u> 'to catch' may be pronounced [phábə] or [fábə]. The lateral <u>l</u> varies freely with <u>n</u> morpheme finally: thus, [<u>l</u>on] or [lol] 'language'.

2.1.3 Complementary Distribution

/l/ has two allophones: [l] and a flapped [r] which occurs in intervocalic position by a postlexical rule of Flapping (see section 10.3.3). The unaspirated velar stop /k/ occurs as [ʔ] between vowels, also through a postlexical rule (see section 10.3.2). /s/ may be realized as an affricate [ȼ] before /i/: [ȼinbə] 'to change shifts, to copy'. The phonemes /p/, /t/ and /k/ each have a voiced

and a voiceless allophone. The voiced allophone is derived in intervocalic position through the application of the Voicing Assimilation Rule (see section 10.2.1). Lexical and postlexical rules are described in detail in Chapter 10.

A feature specification of the consonant phonemes is given in Table 2.

Table 2: Feature specification of the consonant phonemes

	p	b	ph	bh	t	d	th	dh	k	g	kh	gh
syllabic	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
sonorant	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
consonantal	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
anterior	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−
coronal	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−
lateral	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
nasal	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
voice	−	+	−	+	−	+	−	+	−	+	−	+
spread glottis	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	+
continuant	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−

	č j čh	jh	m n	ŋ	l w y	h
syllabic	- - -	-	- -	-	- - -	-
sonorant	- - -	-	+ +	+	+ + +	-
consonantal	+ + +	+	+ +	+	+ + +	+
anterior	- - +	+	+ +	-	+ + +	-
coronal	+ + +	+	- +	-	+ - +	-
lateral	- - -	-	- -	-	+ - -	-
nasal	- - -	-	+ +	+	- - -	-
voice	- + -	+	+ +	+	+ + +	-
spread glottis	- - +	+	- -	-	- - -	+
continuant	- - +	+	- -	+	+ + +	+

2.2 Vowel phonemes

An inventory of the vowel phonemes in Manipuri is given in Table 3.

Table 3:   Chart of Vowel Phonemes

	front	central	back
high	i		u
mid	e	ə	o
low		a	

The minimal pairs in (7) establish the phonemic status of these vowels.

```
(7) (a)   /ə/   phə́bə      'to be good'
    (b)   /a/   phábə      'to catch'
    (c)   /i/   píbə       'to give'
    (d)   /o/   póbə       'to rest by lying down'
    (e)   /u/   púbə       'to borrow'
    (f)   /e/   pébə       'to weep'
```

The vowels /u/, /o/, /i/ and /e/ occur in final position as shown by the minimal pairs in (8-11):

```
(8)  páru              (9)  páro
     pá   -lu -u            pá   -lə   -o
     read-adir-imp          read-prox-SOLCT
     read over there        go ahead and read, won't you


(10) cári             (11) cáre
     cá -li                 cá -lə   -e
     eat-prog               eat-perf-asrt
     eating                 did eat
```

There are no indigenous words beginning with /a/.[3] Although a and ə clearly contrast in medial position, this contrast is neutralized in final position. Word final [a] may have two origins: /a/ may occur in final position in

---

[3] There is one exception to this rule: adə 'a way over there' which is pronounced with emphatic intonation (a lengthening of the vowel accompanied with creaky voice). Possibly, this form is a lexicalized combination of the attributive prefix ə-, (note that an initial ə would be ungrammatical here), and the locative suffix -tə with emphatic intonation.

words like <u>ipa</u> 'my father' or as an allophone of /ə/ since in open syllables /ə/ lowers to [a].

Furthermore, /e/ does not occur in initial position in native words. As noted by Nungshitombi Devi (1989:4), both <u>a</u> and <u>e</u> do occur initially in borrowed words such as <u>aca</u> 'hope' (borrowed form Hindi) and <u>eᵈən</u> 'agent' (borrowed from English). She notes further that although word initial <u>a</u> is preserved in the written form, it is gradually being replaced by [ə] in the spoken language.

In open syllables, /o/ freely varies between [o] and [ɔ]. In closed syllables, when /o/ is followed by a stop, it is [o]; when it is followed by a sonorant, it is [ɔ]. /i/ is tense and high in open syllables; after stops it is [ɪ] and after sonorants it is [i]. Phrase finally, /i/ lowers to [e]. /u/ is high, back and round; in phrase final position [u] is lower and more central [ʉ]. /e/ freely varies between [e] and [ɛ] in open syllables; in closed syllables it is [e]; phrase finally [e] lowers to [ɛ]. In closed syllables, /a/ is [a] before /k/ and /y/; it is back ([ɑ]), after other consonants and sonorants. In open syllables, /a/ is [ɑ].

When a semivowel occurs after the vowels /ə/, /a/ or /o/, a diphthong is created:

(12) əw   tə́wbə   'to dig'   PCT217.25
      əy   təybə   'to smear'   PCT218.1
      aw   tawbə   'to float'   PCT218.14
      ay   táybə   'to stitch'   PCT218.18
      oy   tóynə   'often'   NG177.14

A feature specification of the vowel phonemes is given in Table 4.

Table 4: **Feature Specification of the vowel phonemes.**

	i	e	ə	a	u	o
syllabic	+	+	+	+	+	+
sonorant	+	+	+	+	+	+
consonantal	−	−	−	−	−	−
round	−	−	−	−	+	+
high	+	−	+	−	+	−
back	−	−	+	+	+	+

2.3 Syllable structure

Example (13) presents canonical morpheme shapes for roots and identifies what the possible word initial, medial and final clusters are. Examples are taken from Ibemal Devi (1978).

(13a)

Ø V	i	'write'	Ø V C	ók	'pig'
C V	ká	'room'	C V C	kók	'head'
C C V	kwá	'betel nut'	C C V C	khwáŋ	'waist'
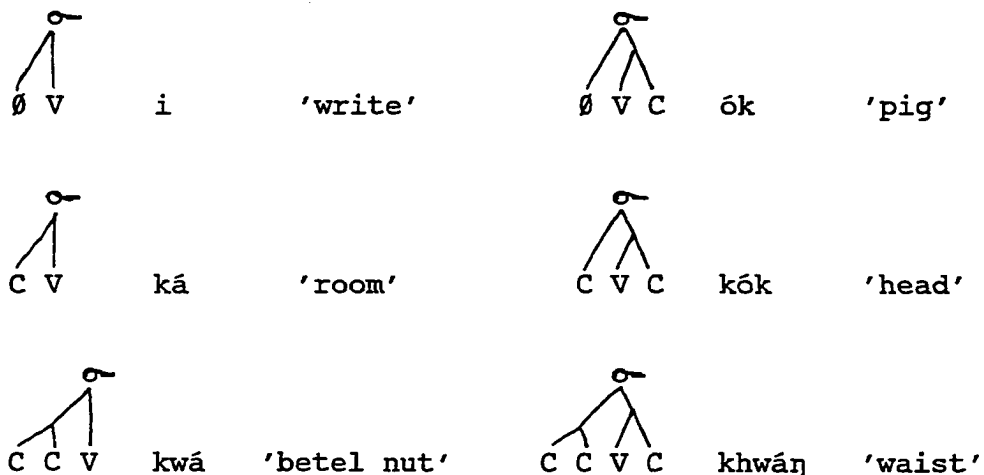
Note that all roots have an onset. There are no vowel initial roots in M; thus i 'write' is pronounced [ʔi]. The phonological word is the domain of syllabification. Voiced or voiceless consonants can form clusters with the flap r (in borrowed words) or with the semivowel w (in native words), in either word initial, medial and or final position. No other clusters are allowed. Some examples are given in (13b).

(13b)

kw	khw	kr
kwa 'betel nut'	khwaŋ 'waist'	kruk 'resin'

pr	khr	gr
cəmpra 'lemon'	pakhra 'widower'	cəgriŋ 'dried rice'
		kongreŋ 'oyster'

Suffixes may have the shape -V, -CV, -CVC as illustrated in (14):

(14)

σ
|
V   -u   'imperative'   C V C   -hən   'causative'

C   V   -lu 'action away from place of speech'
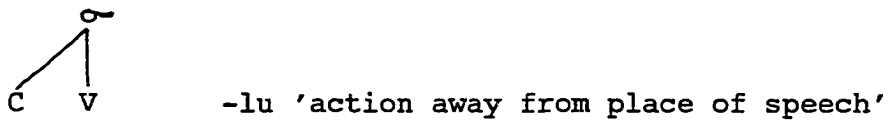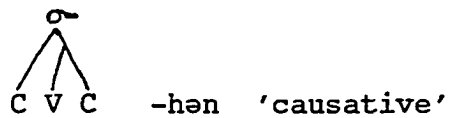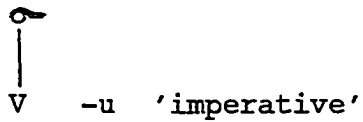
There are no suffixes of the shape -VC. Prefixes may have the shape V or CV as illustrated in (15)

(15)

σ
|
V   i-   '1 person possessive'

σ
C   V   nə-   '2 person possessive'
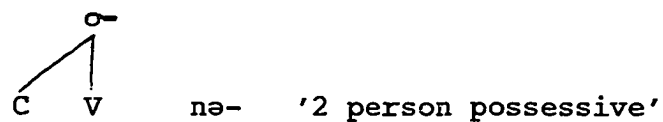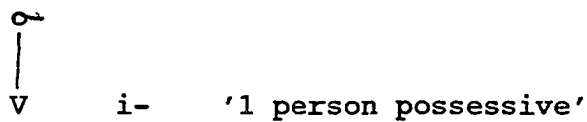
2.4 Tone[4]

In this section I provide a description of the tone system of M. I will present evidence that M exhibits a two way tonal contrast between a lexically marked high (H) tone and a default low (L) tone. Both at an underlying and a surface level, suffixes have no tone associated to them; instead, the pitch values observed for suffixes are simply the phonetic realization of stem tone to the right edge of the word. The M data will be represented in terms of the framework developed by Pierrehumbert and Beckman (1988), to deal with Japanese tone structure, since this framework expresses the phonetic spread of tone (as opposed to phonologically motivated distribution of tone through rules of tone spreading). Finally, from a typological point of view, it will be seen that the M tone system shows characteristics of both a pitch-accent language and regular tone language, falling in the category identified by McCawley (1979), as one of those tonal systems that, "come close to being pitch-accent systems but don't quite make it."

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[4] I would especially like to thank Thounaojam Harimohon Singh for his participation in the preliminary lab work that went into this study. I am also extremely grateful to Anthony Woodbury for allowing me to use his pitch tracking equipment.

2.4.1 The data

The data for this study comes from the analysis of minimal tone pairs recorded by HM. Each item of the minimal pair was recorded in citation form, in a short phrase and where possible, as part of a compound. From this recording, a total of 284 tokens were selected to be pitch tracked and a trace of the fundamental frequency (F_o) contours of these tokens was obtained. F_o contours are taken to be phonetic representations of the underlying tone pattern of each token.

2.4.2 Stems and bound roots

Minimal pairs such as those listed in Table 5, establish the existence of a H and L tone for stems and bound roots.[5] As can be seen by the F_o values for initial pitch given in this table, the stems in column 1 consistently show a higher initial pitch than the stems in column 2. This difference in initial pitch is the most significant distinguishing characteristic of H and L stems.

Note that the F_o given here is generalized over four tokens per word. The average pitch range for this speaker is around 135Hz. By comparing the initial pitch of each of

---

[5] As will be described in Chapter 3, the lexicon consists of bound roots (verbs) or free roots. Roots may be further affixed by derivational or inflectional morphemes or enclitics to form stems. From now on, unless referring to a specific bound root, I will use stem as a short form for stem and bound root.

the stems in Table (5), it is apparent that the value for initial pitch is affected by syllable shape and the actual segments. Thus a high vowel (as in the stem í 'blood') has a higher F_o value than an aspirated consonant or a lateral (such as the stems khóy 'navel' or lá 'basket'). Finally, the absolute values given here are arrived at from a average value seen over three tokens of each item, and are meant to provide the reader with an approximate view of the initial point of the F_o curve, some actual F_o values are presented in Figures 1 to 18.

Table 5: List of minimal tone pairs

Initial pitch with H   Initial pitch with L

í	'blood'	140Hz.	i	'thatch'	115Hz.
khóy	'navel'	110Hz.	khoy	'bee'	100Hz.
lá	'basket'	100Hz.	la	'banana leaf'	90Hz.
síŋ	'firewood'	120Hz.	siŋ	'ginger'	100Hz.
sám	'hair'	105Hz.	səm	'basket'	90Hz.

H and L stems consistently differ in two more ways. First, both H and L stems fall after the initial pitch; the lower pitch obtained after this fall is sustained, forming a plateau where the plateau of the H stem occurs at a higher F_o than for the L stem. Both the H and the L stem fall after the plateau and reach approximately the same final pitch. These facts are illustrated by the pitch curve for the stems út 'camel' and ut 'ashes' provided in Figure (1). In Figures (1-14), the x-axis refers to time and the y-axis refers to F_o which is indicated in

increments of 50hz.

Key: (a) ut 'camel'

      |

      H

      (b) ut 'ashes'

      |

      L
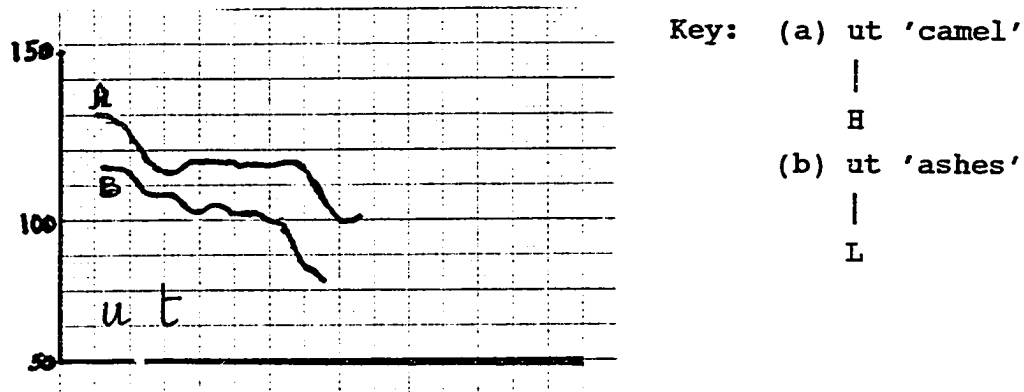
Figure (1)

The F_o for <u>út</u> 'camel' (a) and <u>ut</u> 'ashes'(b).

Since the H stem begins at a higher F_o, the fall from initial pitch for the H stem is significantly steeper than for the L tone stem. When segments such as nasals, which have a F_o higher than that of other consonants, end a stem, the fall from initial pitch is not as steep. See Figure

(2). There is no voice quality difference accompanying the tone difference in these stems.

Key:

(a) khoŋ

|

H

(b) khoŋ

|

L
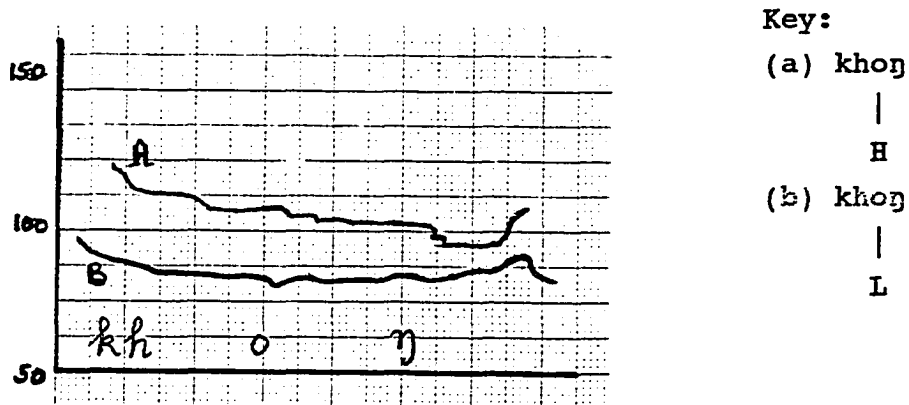
Figure (2)

The F₀ for khóŋ 'foot'(a), and khoŋ 'canal'(b).

The facts about H and L stems can be accounted for assuming the tonal inventory and hierarchic prosodic structure given below. First, I assume that there is one lexically specified tone which is H tone. Following a convention set up by Pulleyblank (1986), possible tone bearing units that do not have a tone at the end of the application of all lexical rules are assigned L tone by default.

Second, each tone bearing unit can be defined as constituting and being a member of a hierarchically defined prosodic unit. The minimal prosodic unit, the smallest unit for which a tone pattern can be established, is the syllable. Syllables may be combined to form Accentual Phrases (hereafter AP) and APs are combined to form Intonational Phrases (IP). Thus, in morphological terms, an IP (a word) might consist of two APs (a root and a

suffix) and each AP might consist of a syllable (a monosyllabic root and a monosyllabic suffix). For example, the H stem <u>ut</u> 'camel' will have the prosodic structure given in (17) which is built at the postlexical level.

(17)

```
                    IP                    Intonational Phrase
                   /|
                  / AP                    Accentual Phrase
                 /  |\
                /   σ \                    Syllable
               /    |  \
             H%     H   L                  Tone tier
                    |
                    u t                    Phoneme tier
```
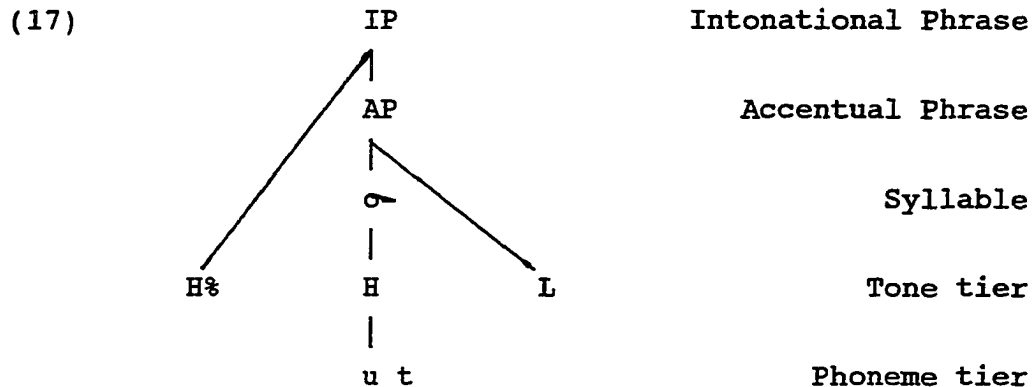
Note that whereas segments combine to form constituents of the tier which directly dominates them (phonemes combines to form syllables), tones may be associated to a particular syllable or may skip several tiers to attach to the edges of a higher constituent. In (17) the H tone which is associated to the syllable is the lexically specified H tone of the stem <u>ut</u>. The two tones on either side of this lexically specified H tone are boundary tones. The final L tones reflect the tendency, as illustrated in Figure (1), that, regardless of the lexically specified tone of the tone bearing unit, the pitch range lowers towards the end each AP. The H% boundary tone which is associated to the left edge of the IP reflects that fact that the F_o of both the H and L stems falls from an initial pitch to a distinguishing plateau.

Boundary tones do not have a predetermined F_o value,

instead the pitch of a boundary tone is determined by the pitch of the tone it is adjacent to. Thus a L that occurs to the right of L stem tone will be lower than that L tone. Furthermore, it will also be lower than a L that occurs to the right of, and adjacent to a high tone.

The notion of boundary tones and levels of prosodic units which have been adapted from the framework used by Pierrehumbert and Beckman to account for Japanese tone structure, account for the facts (immediate fall from initial pitch; lower pitch range at the end of the stem and a high F_o for the plateau), about M high tone stems.

After unspecified values for tone have been filled in, L tone stems will have a structure as in (18).

(18)	IP	Intonational Phrase
	AP	Accentual Phrase
	σ	Syllable
H%	L L	Tone tier
	[u t]	Phoneme tier
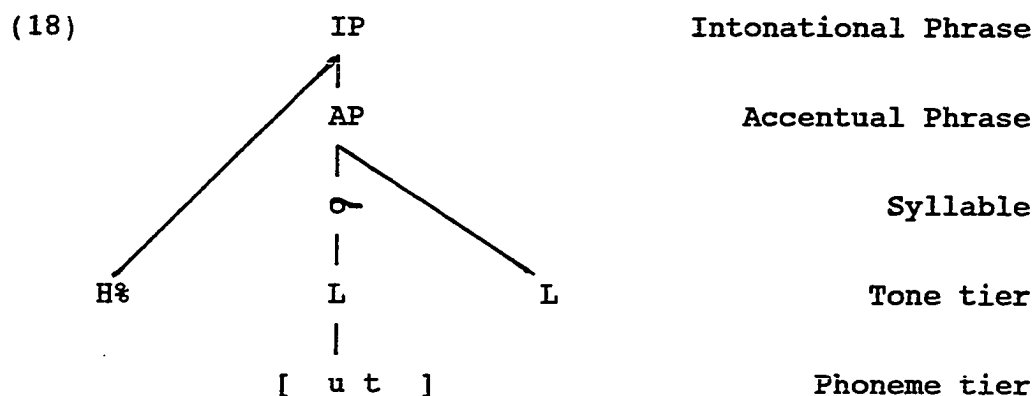
As in the case with H stems, the H% boundary tone reflects the initial artificial heightening of the pitch of the L stem. The L boundary tone reflects the phrase final fall of the L tone.

2.4.3 Suffixes

Words in Manipuri can consist of stems (such as the nouns stems given in Table 5), bound roots, suffixes (from one to ten suffixes), prefixes (only one per word) and enclitics. Whereas Manipuri stems have either H or L tone, suffixes and prefixes are unspecified for tone at both an underlying and surface level. The F_0 patterns exhibited by affixes are the result of the phonetic transition between lexically specified tones and target boundary tones. I am following Pierrehumbert and Beckman in rejecting other possible sources for tone on syllables that do not carry lexically specified tone. Thus, the missing tones on suffixes are not filled in by a rule of tone mapping (Leben, 1978:199) or tone spreading (Goldsmith, 1990) or by the default post-lexical rule that fills in unspecified tone values on stems (and as will be seen below, all other morphological processes except suffixation). As discussed below, this phonetic account of suffix tone is more appropriate to account for the facts in M than other available phonologically based accounts. Figures (3-6) give minimal pairs of H and L stems or bound roots with one or two suffixes (the pattern is the same with further suffixation).

Key:

(a) səm-du

   | |

   H   L

(b) səm-du

   | |

   L   L
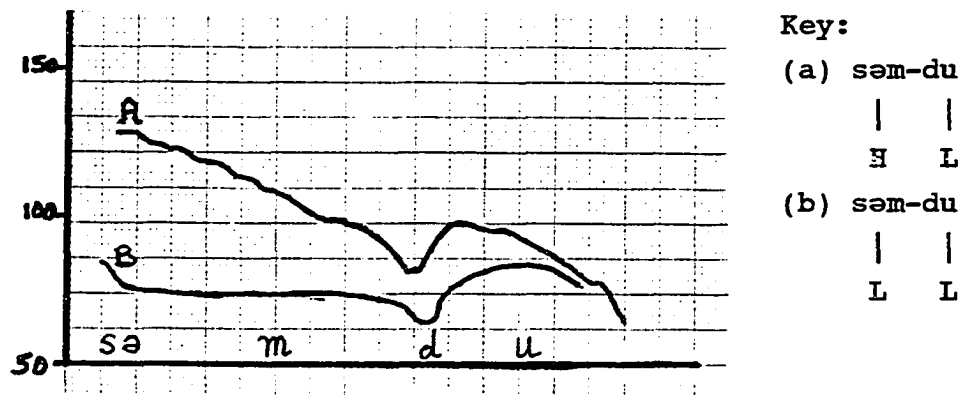
Figure (3)

F_o contours for s**ə̂**mdu 'that hair' (a) and s**ə**mdu 'that basket' (b) where the roots are suffixed by the determiner -tu[6].

---

[6] By a lexical phonological rule, the syllable initial voiceless unaspirated stop of a suffix is voiced between voiced segments. This rule fails to apply between prefixes and stems and in compounds were the tone of the second stem is H. See Chapter 10 for details.

Key:

(a) thibə

| | |
H L

(b) thibə

| | |
L L
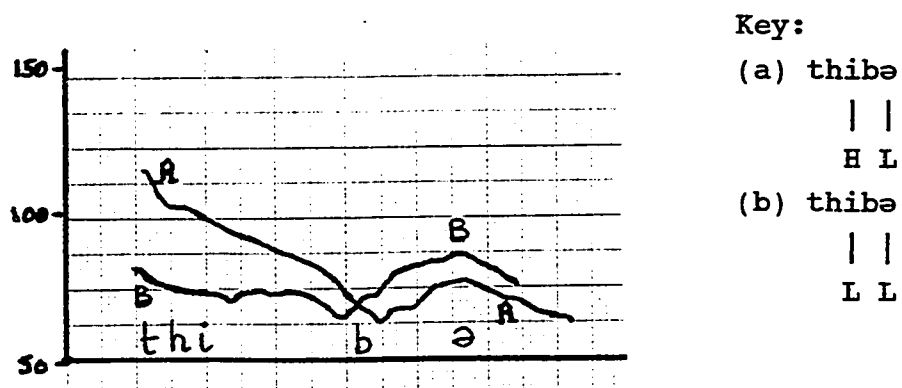
Figure (4)

F_o contour for <u>thíbə</u> 'to be ugly' (a) and <u>thibə</u> 'to search' (b) where the roots are suffixed by the infinitive marker <u>-pə</u>.

Key:

(a) pu

|
H

(b) pu

|
L
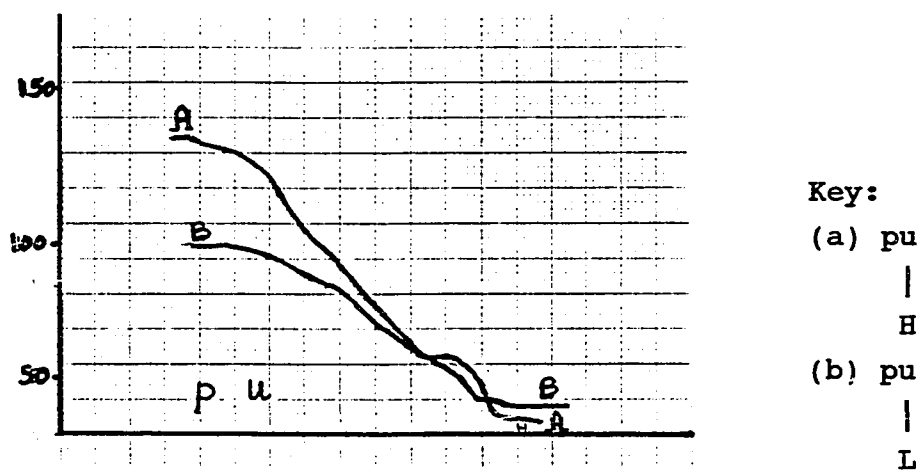
Figure (5)

F_o contour for stems <u>pú</u> 'borrow!' (a) and <u>pu</u> 'carry!' (b)[7]

---

[7] The stems are suffixed by the imperative <u>-u</u>; like vowels coalesce, thus <u>pu</u> + <u>-u</u> results in <u>pu</u>.
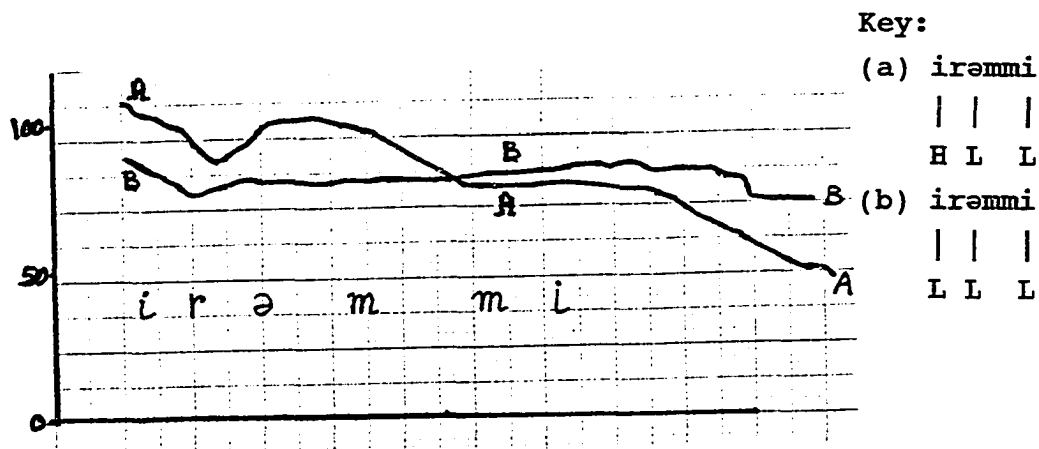
Figure (6)

F_o contour for **irəmmi** 'is sick' (a) and **irəmmi** 'is writing' (b), where the roots are suffixed by the evidential marker **-ləm** and the progressive marker **-li**.[8]

In each case, the initial pitch of the H stem is higher than that of the L stem. The word with the H stem exhibits a steep fall in pitch from the first to the second (and third) syllable whereas the word with the L stem exhibits a more gradual fall in pitch across the word. Both words with H and L stems exhibit a word final fall in pitch.

It is impossible to consistently assign a tone to the suffixes. Clearly, the suffixes do not have H tone, since if this were the case, a level H contour would be obtained for the H stem + suffix sequences and a rising contour for the L stem + suffix sequences. Instead, falling contours are attested for both H and L stems. Suppose the suffixes

---

[8] In intervocalic position **l** becomes **r**.

were postulated to have L tone: this would predict a level contour for L tone stem + suffix sequences, but this is clearly not the attested contour. Instead, the attested facts can correctly be expressed if it is assumed that it is the tone of the stem which is phonetically stretched across the suffixes which do not bear a tone of their own. The successively lower pitch exhibited by tone bearing units from the left to the right edge of words with both H and L stems, can be attributed in part to the phenomenon referred to as downtrend (or downdrift (Anderson, 1978:139)), which is the natural tendency for pitch to lower from the beginning to the end of an utterance. The AP final L boundary tones reflect this lowering: in effect, the boundary tones represent phonetic targets for lexically assigned tones. Under this treatment, the representation of čǝrǝmmi 'is sick' will be as in (19).

(19)

```
                       IP                    Intonational Phrase


                  AP   AP   AP               Accentual Phrase
                  |    |    |

                  σ    σ    σ                Syllable

                  Λ    Λ    Λ
H%                H L  L L  L  L             Tone tier

                  |    |    |
                  i r  ǝ m  mi               Phoneme tier
```
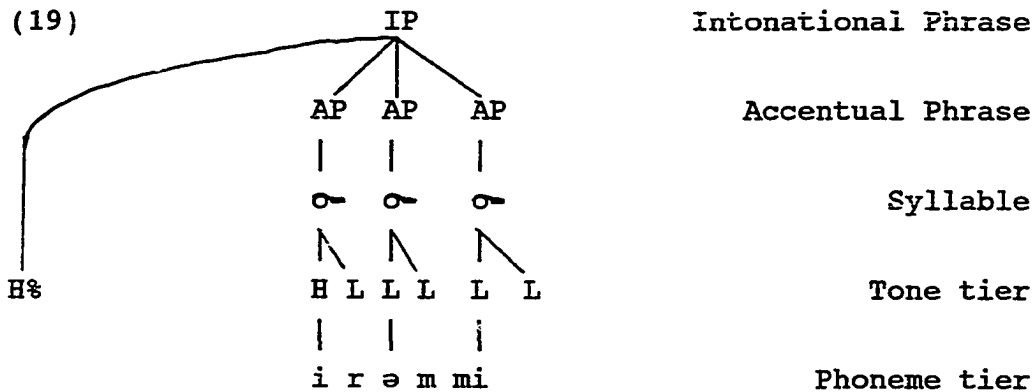
The localized drops in pitch, after each AP, are reflected in the AP final L% boundary tones.

The second point which needs to be explained is that

whereas H tone stems have falling contour across the word,
L tone stems exhibit a rise. This results in the
crisscross between the curve of the L stem and the H stem
which can be seen most clearly in Figures (4-6). This fact
about H and L stems can be attributed to Pierrehumbert and
Beckman's view that the prominence of an accent or tone
decreases in the course of a word.[9] This is shown
graphically in Figure (7).
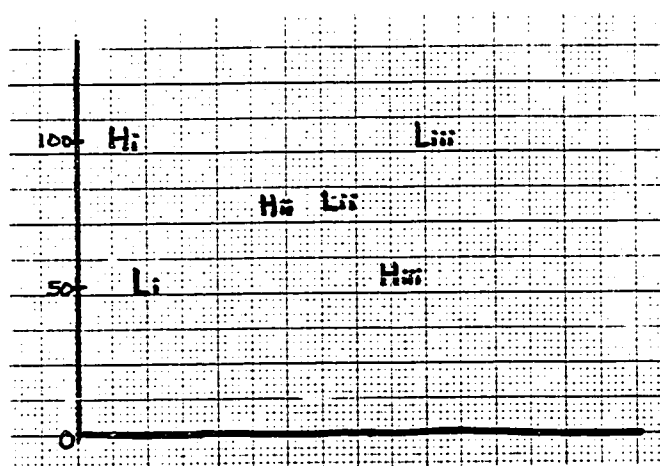
**Figure (7): Lowered prominence of H and L tone from left to
right edge of the word.**

The x-axis refers to time and the y-axis refers to the
F_o in increments of 50hz. H_i and L_i show values for a H and
L tone at the beginning of a word at high prominence for
these tones; H_{ii} and L_{ii} show F_o values for H and L at mid
prominence and Hiii and Liii show F_o values for these tones

---

[9] Although Pierrhumbert and Beckman mainly deal with
the "prominence" of focused elements, I have found it
useful to apply this idea to pitch values for tones across
a word.

at the end of the word where both tones exhibit the least degree of prominence. Thus under a low degree of prominence L is higher than H and H is lower than low. The area of crisscross observed in Figures (4-6) is at the midpoint of prominence for the H and L tones. Furthermore, the idea of a decrease of prominence across a word explains why words with a L tone stem exhibit a rise and why words with a H tone stem exhibit a fall.

2.4.4 Lexicalized suffix combinations

Taking into consideration the facts concerning stems and suffixes, it would be correct to say that M exhibits the typical characteristics of a pitch-accent system where regardless of the number of possible tone bearing units in a word (i.e. syllables), only one tone bearing unit carries lexical tone and the F_0 values for the rest of the word are filled in by a combination of the effects of reduced prominence from the left to the right edge of a word and downtrend. Thus with a knowledge of the tone of the stem and the specified phonetic implementation of these tones, the F_0 contour for each word is totally predictable.

However, M is not a typical pitch accent language in that there are instances where a word can have more than one tone. There exists a set of clausal subordinators that are lexicalized combinations of deverbalizing suffixes. As will be shown below, these suffixes have high tone and form minimal pairs with homophonous productive suffix sequences (see Chapter 6). Three such minimal pairs are given in Table 6:

Table 6: **Minimal Pairs of Lexicalized suffixes and homophonous productive suffix sequences**[10]

Subordinator	Productive morphology
-tə́nə 'by Ving', (composed of the locative marker -tə and the adverbial marker -nə)	V-tə-nə 'due to not Ving' where -tə is the negative marker and -nə is the adverbial marker.
-nə́bə 'in order to V', (composed of the adverbial marker -nə and the nominal marker -pə)	V-nə-pə 'to V together' where -nə is the reciprocal marker and -pə is the nominal marker.
-tū́nə 'Ving' (composed of the distal determiner -tu and the adverbial marker -nə)	N-tu-nə 'that N out of all others' (composed of the distal determiner and the contrastive marker -nə)
-lə́bə 'having Ved', (composed of the perfect marker -lə and the nominal marker -pə)	V-lə-pə 'has Ved here' where -lə marks an action which takes place towards the speaker and -pə is the nominal marker.

---

[10] These minimal pairs have been noted by Ningthoujam (1982:33) who differentiates them by postulating a pause juncture with the subordinating suffix sequence. However, since a pause is not always present between a root and a subordinating sequence, the pause juncture hypothesis falls short of a real explanation about the contrast in these pairs.

Figures 8 and 9 illustrate the contrastive tone of a lexicalized suffix sequence and a productive suffix sequence. In Figure 8: the pitch curve for stem thí 'ugly' is given for a stem plus productive suffix sequence thí-də-nə 'not being ugly' and for the stem plus lexicalized suffix sequences thí-dénə 'due to being ugly'.

Key:

(a) thí-dénə

| | | |

H   H   L

(b) thí-də-nə

| | |

H   L   L
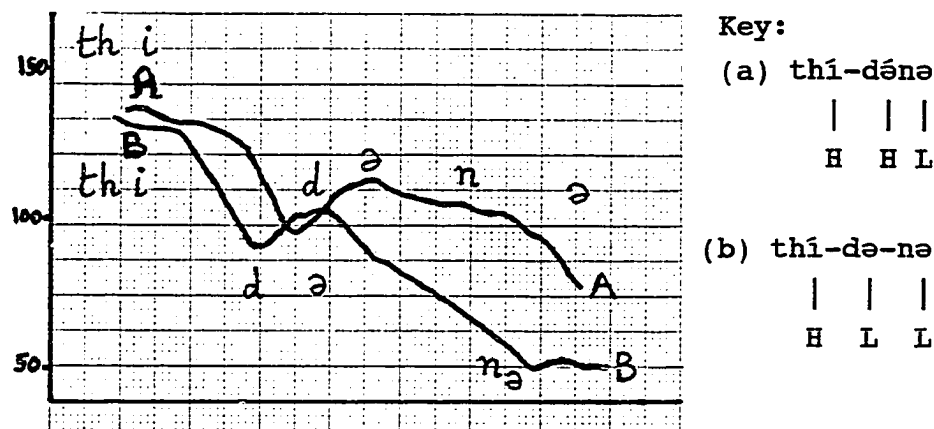
Figure (8)

F_o contours for the root thí 'ugly' where (a) is thídénə 'due to being ugly' and (b) is thídənə 'not being ugly'.

The F_o curve with the stem plus productive suffix sequence, curve (b), has the expected falling pattern given the theory of reduced prominence across the word, which was explained above. However in curve (a) which shows the F_o curve for the stem + lexicalized suffix sequence, there is a rise in pitch after the stem syllable. This can be explained by assuming that the lexicalized suffix is associated to a H tone. The prosodic structure for this word is given in (20).

(20)

	IP		Intonational Phrase
	AP	AP	Accentual Phrase
	σ	σ σ	Syllable
H%	H L	H L	L	Tone tier
	thi	tə nə	Phoneme tier
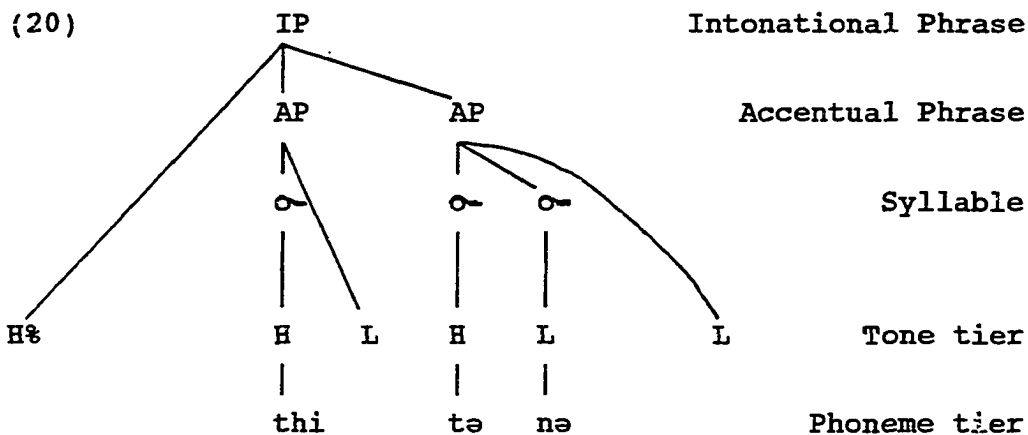
The localized fall of stem tone after the first syllable is reflected in the L boundary tone to the right of AP of which the root is a constituent. The rise in pitch in the second AP of this IP, i.e. in -tɛ́nə, is attributable to the H associated to with the first syllable in it. The L associated to the second syllable of this AP is provided through the default fill-in rule for unspecified tones. Note however, that the F_o of the H of the lexicalized suffix is lower than that of the H stem. The downscaling of the second H tone in a H1H2 sequence within an IP, appears consistently in HH sequences. This phenomena is stated in terms of a phonological rule of Downstep:

(21) Downstep: In an IP where H1 and H2 are on contiguous
syllables, H2 is downscaled.

Figure (9) also illustrates this point. In contour (b) which gives the root plus lexicalized suffix sequence, the H tone of the stem is sustained through the first syllable of the subordinator whereas in curve (a), which gives the root plus productive suffix sequence, there is a

marked fall after the H tone of the stem.

Key:

(a) pu-nə-bə
    | | |
    H   L   L
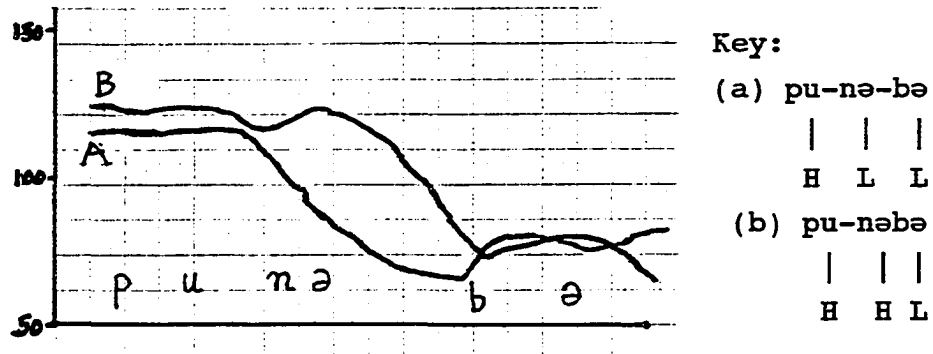
(b) pu-nəbə
    | | |
    H   H   L

Figure (9)

F_0 contour for (a) púnəbə 'to borrow together' and (b) púnə́bə 'in order to borrow'.

Thus a root that is suffixed by one of these lexicalized subordinators exhibits either a HH or LH pattern depending on the tone of the bound root. This is illustrated in Figure (10) which contrasts the F_0 for a H root páy 'hold' and for a L root pay 'fly' where both are suffixed by the lexicalized subordinator -túnə 'by Ving'.

Key:

(a) pay-dunə
    | | |
    H   H   L
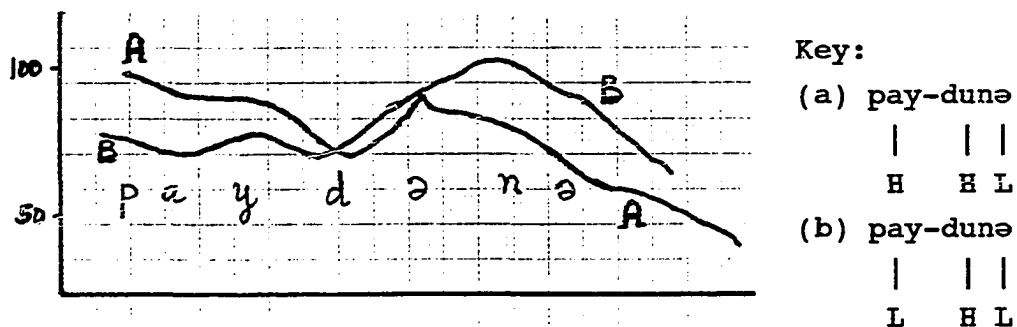
(b) pay-dunə
    | | |
    L   H   L

Figure (10)

F_0 contour for the páydúnə 'by holding' (a) and paydúnə 'by flying'(b).

In Figure (10), the word with the H root exhibits the same curve observed for the H root plus lexicalized suffix sequences seen in Figures (8) and (9) above: the initial high pitch of the curve (due to the H tone of the root), is sustained (due to the H of the lexicalized suffix sequence), so that the peak of the second syllable is considerably higher than in comparable root plus productive suffix sequences (for example, compare this curve with the curve for <u>sə̂mdu</u> 'that hair' in Figure (3)). The curve for the L root plus lexicalized sequence exhibits a peak in the second syllable which can be attributed to the H tone of the lexicalized suffix sequence. A L tone root with a lexicalized suffix sequence would be a constituent on a prosodic tree such as (22).

(22)

IP	Intonational Phrase
AP AP	Accentual Phrase
σ σ σ	Syllable
H% H L H L L	Tone tier
thi tə nə	Phoneme tier
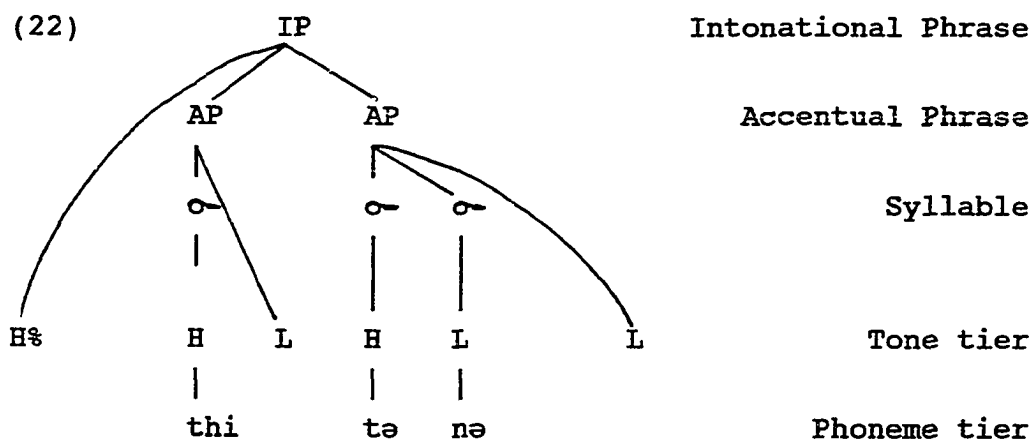
2.4.5 Prefixes

Prefixes, like suffixes do not have lexically assigned tone but are assigned default L tone at the post-lexical level. Thus prefixes exhibit the same curve as L stems: this can be seen by a comparison of the F_0 curve of a stem

like ut 'ashes' and the attributive prefix ə- in Figure
(15). Note that a prefix will always have a higher F_0 than
the stem it is affixed to because of the phonetic effect of
the H% at the left edge of every IP.[11]

2.4.6 Enclitics

Enclitics may be specified for H tone. This can be
established through minimal pairs which contrast the
locative suffix -tə and the exclusive enclitic -tə́ as in
the pair yúmdə 'to the house' and yúmdə́ 'only the house'
where yúm is 'house'.

The nonhypothetical inflectional verbal marker -í acts
like an enclitic in the phonology in that it has high tone
but is an inflectional marker in the morphology (see
chapter 10 for the defining characteristics of inflectional
morphology and enclitics). See Figure (11) which gives the
pitch curve for the word irí 'was sick' (composed of the H
stem í 'sick' suffixed by the perfect marker -lə and the
nonhypothetical marker -í.) Note that opposed to the
predicted falling pattern for suffixation, the right edge
of the word exhibits a slight rise in pitch. This is
because of the H tone of the non-hypothetical marker.

The tone difference between the nonhypothetical marker
and other suffixation has been noted indirectly in Bhat and

---

[11] The fact that prefixes are perceived as having a
higher pitch than the stems they are affixed to explains
why some descriptions of M tone such as Mahabir (1988) and
Ningthoujam (1986) claim that prefixes have H tone.

Ningomba (1986), who oppose _-li_ 'past' (which, as shown above, I analyze as a combination of the perfect marker _-la_ and the nonhypothetical marker _-i_) and _-li_ 'progressive'. Their analysis indicates that the progressive marker can be distinguished from the perfect + nonhypothetical marker sequence, because the progressive marker has low tone. It is clear what motivates such an analysis: the nonhypothetical marker causes the stem + perfect marker + nonhypothetical marker sequence to exhibit a non-falling pattern whereas the stem + progressive suffix sequence exhibits a falling pattern (see Figure (6)). So, the F_0 of the progressive _-li_ is much lower than that of its counterpart and is interpreted as a L tone.

Key:

iri

| |

H H
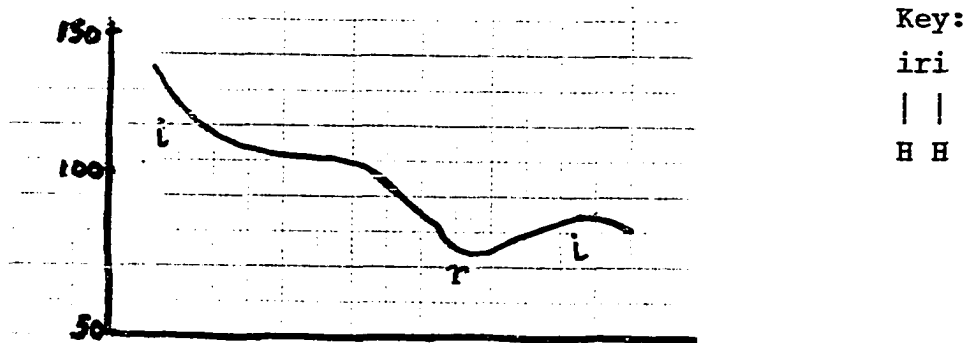
Figure (11)

F_0 contour for _iri_ 'was sick'.

2.4.7 Compounds

In this section, I describe the phonetic effects obtained when two stem tones appear contiguously within the

same IP.   In Figure (12), the stem <u>khóŋ</u> 'foot' is
compounded with a high root <u>úp</u> 'wear'.   Note that both
stems have H tone.

Key:

khoŋup

| |

H H
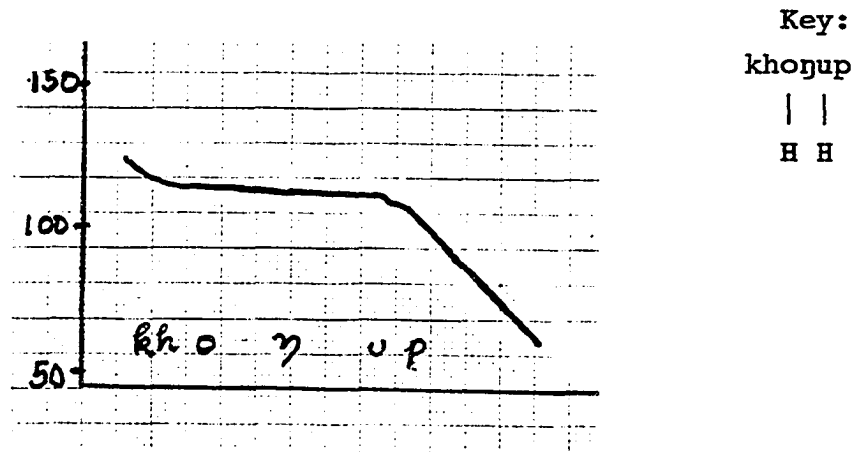
Figure (12)

F_o contour for the compound <u>khóŋup</u> 'footwear'.

Note that the F_o of the second stem is considerably
lower than for a comparable H stem in isolation (for
instance, compare <u>úp</u> in Figure (12) with <u>út</u> 'camel' in
Figure (1)).   This is due to the application of the
Downstep rule given in (21).

Figure (13) gives the F_o contour for a compound with
two L roots <u>khonjəw</u> 'large canal' which is composed of <u>khon</u>
'canal' (L) compounded with the root <u>cəw</u> 'big' (L) and a
compound with H and L roots <u>khónjəw</u> 'large foot' (composed
of the stem <u>khóŋ</u> 'foot' (H) compounded with the root <u>cəw</u>
'big' (L).

Key:

(a) khoɲjəw

| |

L L

(b) khoɲjəw

| |

H L
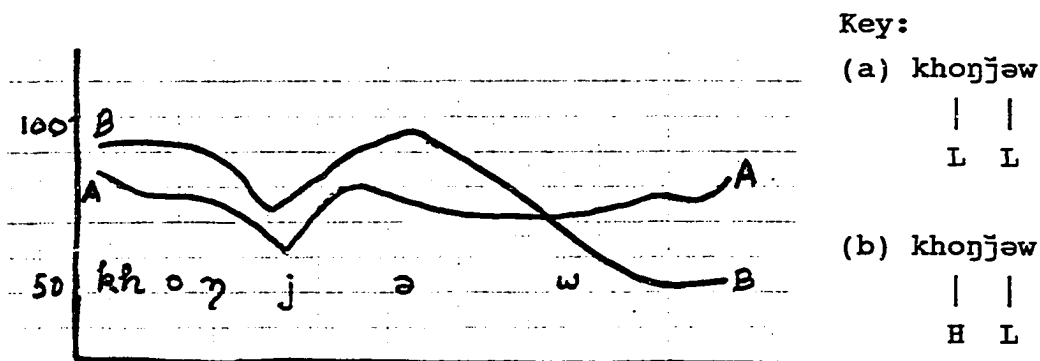
Figure (13)

F_o contour for the compounds khoɲjəw 'large canal' (a) and khóɲjəw 'large foot' (b).

In curve (a) which gives the F_o for the LL sequence khoɲjəw 'large canal', the curve obtained is identical in shape to the curve of a L stem and suffix sequence (thus compare (a) in Figure (12) with səmdu 'that basket' in Figure (6)). Similarly, in curve (b) which gives the F_o for the HL sequence khóɲjəw 'large foot', the curve obtained is identical in shape to the curve of a H stem and suffix sequence (thus compare (b) in Figure (12) with sə́mdu 'that hair' in Figure (6).

Anderson (1978:138) notes that for languages which exhibit downtrend (what he calls downdrift), a high tone may not have the same value at every instance since, "a high tone following a low tone will have a pitch level lower than a high tone occurring before the low tone: furthermore, subsequent high tones will be at or below this

level." The pitch track in Figure (14) supports this observation: here the F_o of the compound thaŋpéŋnúŋ[12] 'whetting stone' (composed of thaŋ 'knife' (L), péŋ 'sharp' (H) and núŋ 'stone' (H)) is givчn.

Key:
thaŋpéŋnúŋ

| | |
L H H
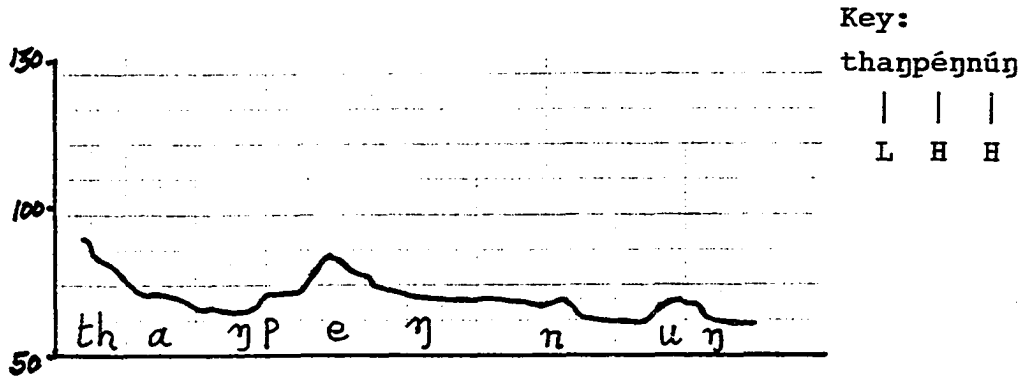
Figure (14)

F_o contour for the compound thaŋpéŋnúŋ 'whetting stone'.

In this sequence of a L tone followed by a H tone, the H tone stem does not attain the same height in this environment as in isolation: whereas péŋ peaks at a little over 100Hz in isolation, following a L tone stem the peak at only 85Hz. Additionally, the application of Downstep is also evidenced: in the HH sequence péŋnuŋ, the stem núŋ which peaks at 100Hz[13] in isolation has a value of 70Hz after a H stem. This compound will have the

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[12] This example was pitch tracked from a recording of compounds made by Mangla Ningomba in 1986.

[13] The pitch values for peŋ and nuŋ are generalized over two tokens of each item.

prosodic structure given in (23)

(23)

	IP		Intonational Phrase
AP	AP	AP	Accentual Phrase
σ	σ	σ	Syllable
H% L L	H	H L	Tone tier
thaŋ	peŋ	nuŋ	Phoneme tier
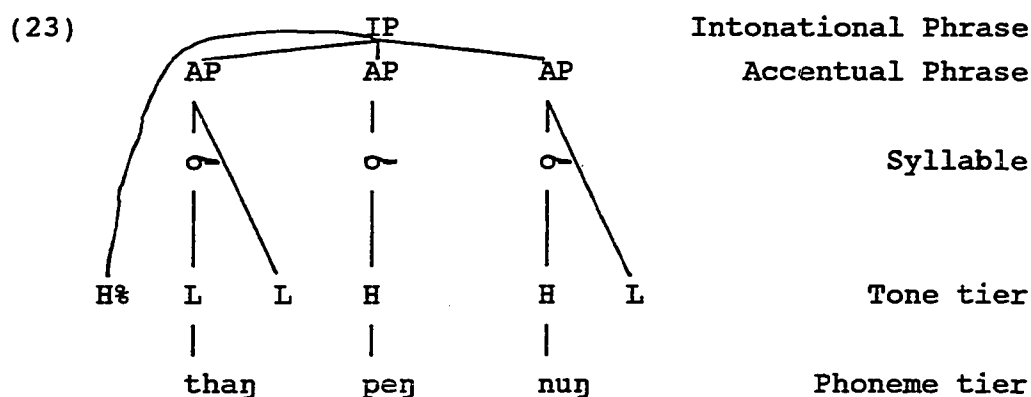
2.4.8 Downtrend across intonational phrases

The phonetic effects of downtrend can be seen across IPs. Compare for example the pitch peak (140hz) of ut 'camel' (H) in isolation (see Figure (1)), with the pitch peak (110hz) for this same stem in the phrase əcawbə út 'big camel'. In Figure (15), the presence of a H% before the stem is clearly observable: note the high initial pitch which falls to the actual distinguishing plateau of the H stem.
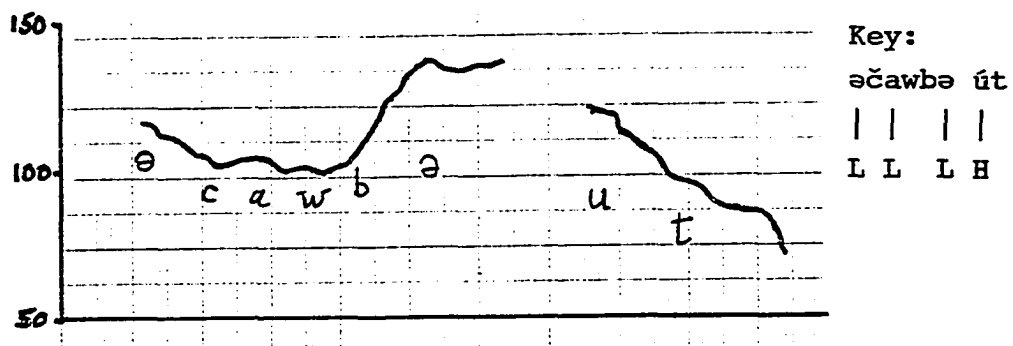
Figure (15)

F_0 contour for the phrase <u>əčawbə út</u> 'big camel'.

The prosodic structure of this phrase will be as in (24)
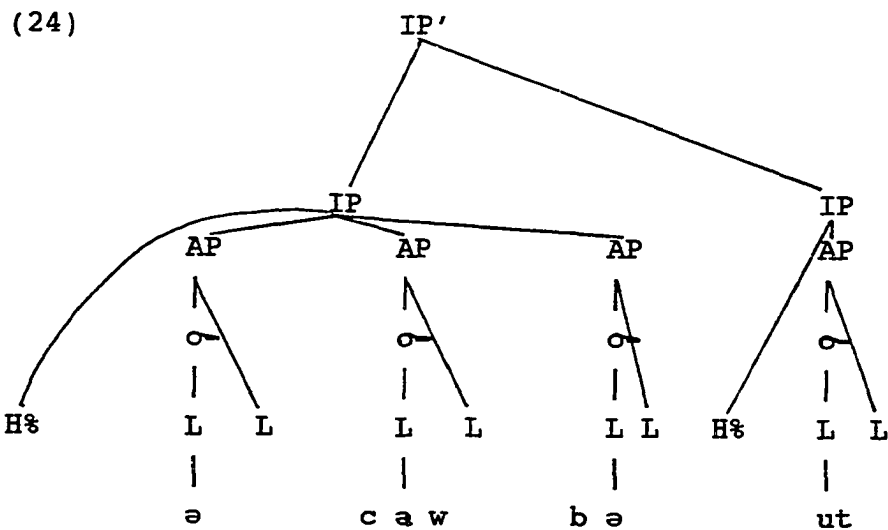
2.4.9 Summary and conclusion

To summarize, there is one lexical tone in M which is
H tone. Roots and enclitics have lexical tone, suffixes
and prefixes are assigned L tone by default. A rule of

Downstep applies to a sequence of two H tones in contiguous syllables. Tone bearing units (APs) combine to form intonational phrases (IPs) at the post-lexical level. Each AP has an L boundary tone to its right; each IP has a H% boundary tone to its left edge. Two important principles of phonetic implementation are operative: (1) reduced prominence of H and L tones across a word and (2) downtrend which is the gradual reduction of pitch from the beginning to the end of an utterance.

In the available literature there appears to be no consensus on how many or what tones there are in M. Pettigrew (1912) describes two tones, high and low; P. Devi (1979), Thoudam (1980) and Mahabir (1988) argue for two tones, falling and level; Inder Singh (1975) describes three tones, falling, rising and level; and W. Tomchou Singh (1986) argues for three tones described as light, medium, and heavy. However, if we look past the labels we can see that each investigator is in basic agreement with the facts and their description as presented in this paper.

Those investigators who describe two tones for M use the same minimal pairs to establish tones as I do here. For example, Mahabir (1988:3)[14], describes i 'blood' as

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[14] Mahabir has also undertaken instrumentation of tone minimal pairs, noting F_o, amplitude and duration to see which of these contribute to the perceptual distinction of the two tones. Unfortunately, I am unable to report his findings in full since I have in my possession only an abbreviated report (Mahabir, 1988) of his full Master's thesis (Mahabir, 1982) where the results are given. It

having a fall(ing) tone and _i_ 'write' as having a level
tone which correspond to my H and L tone, respectively.
Given the F_o contours seen for H tone stems in isolation
(see the steep fall in F_o from initial pitch in Figure
(1)), it is apparent what prompted investigators such as
Mahabir to label this a falling tone. I suspect that Inder
Singh's (1975) description of a three tone system is
influenced largely by the traditional notion, recorded in
pedagogical works such as Tomchou Singh (1986:102-111),
that posit three stress distinctions: light, medium, and
heavy. Heavy and light correspond to what I label as H and
L respectively: thus, púbə 'to borrow' is given as an
example of a heavy stem and pubə 'to carry' is given as an
example of a light stem. I am not sure what motivates the
postulation of a medium tone.

The description of M tone that I have presented here
goes two steps forward of the existing literature. First,
I have tried to show the behavior of tone, not only within
bimorphemic words but also within polymorphemic words,
compounds and to a limited extent in phrases. Second, I
have presented a framework that correctly describes the
manifestation of tone in M words.

One final issue to consider is the representation of
tone in M orthography and in phonemic transcription.
Currently, the official orthography used for M is the

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would be interesting in particular to see what results he
obtained with words that contain more than one suffix or in
compounds, since it is these cases which motivate me to
label the tones H and L as opposed to fall and level.

Bengali script. Ningthoujam (1986) has noted that the spelling system in use is meant to characterize every phonetic variation obtained by adjacent tones. She notes that since there are not enough symbols to represent each phonetic variant, characters are used in combination or have multiple uses. This results in lists of rules of usage to be memorized which in turn, inevitably results in inconsistencies in usage when these rules are disregarded. I would like to suggest that in both M orthography and in phonemic transcriptions of M, it is only necessary to mark lexically assigned H tone on roots and enciltics (along with some marking of lexicalized suffixes such as a hypen between the stem and the suffix), since once these values are known, pitch values for the rest of a word are predictable.

Chapter 3

3 Introduction to the Syntax

This chapter is an overview of the morphosyntax of M, it introduces the structures and key concepts that will be discussed in detail in Chapters 4-9. I will begin with a discussion of phrase structure rules and a description of phrasal categories in M. This will be followed by a discussion of the major and minor lexical categories and the inflectional and derivational affixal categories. Finally, I will provide detailed notes on the composition of the lexical categories.

3.1 Phrase structure of root sentences

There is no evidence in M for a verb phrase constituent (see Chapter 4 for arguments); thus, the M clause consists of a Verb (V) and the arguments (noun phrases (NPs)), this V subcategorizes for. (1a,b) are the phrase structure rules which derive root sentences in M:

(1a) S → NP* V   (1b) NP* → NP NP NP...

As reflected in phrase structure rule (b), the asterisk which follows the NP indicates (following the convention used in Hale (1983)), that the verb may occur with any number of noun phrases. There is no particular order imposed on the arguments; instead, word order is determined on the basis of pragmatic factors (see Chapter 4 for details). The maximum number of NPs that may occur

with a V is restricted by the subcategorization frame of that V (see section 4.2). Since M allows the free deletion of arguments, the minimum number of NPs that may occur with a V is zero.

3.1.1 The verb

To be grammatical, a sentence must consist of an inflected verb; that is, a verb root affixed by an inflectional suffix. All inflectional suffixes are illocutionary mood markers which indicate sentence type (e.g. declarative, optative, imperative etc., see Chapter 5 for details). As shown in Figure 1, the inflectional marker may be preceded optionally by three derivational categories.

Figure 1: Schematic representation of the M verb

Root	1st level derivation	2nd level derivation	3rd level derivation	Inflection

1st level derivation consists of eight suffixes which describe the extent to which an agent desires/intends to affect some object and the direction and manner that an action is performed. 2nd level derivation consists of suffixes which have meanings such as 'comitative; reciprocal; V for someone other than self; V for sake of self; causative; wish to V; V to excess; V habitually, repeatedly; V in the nick of time; V ahead or behind expected time; indirect evidence; proximal; distal; action away from speaker; negative; prospective aspect.' 3rd level derivation consists of suffixes which signal meanings

of mood and aspect like, 'potential; nonpotential; necessity; obligation, probability; intention; progressive; perfect.' Details about the ordering and co-occurrence of these derivational markers is provided in Chapter 7. There is no number, person, gender or pronominal agreement between the verb and its arguments indicated in the verb morphology.

3.1.2 The noun

A noun may be optionally affixed by nominal derivational morphemes indicating gender, quantity and number. A noun is obligatorily affixed by an inflectional marker indicating case. As discussed in Chapter 4, since the arguments that a verb subcategorizes for have the same structural status, case in M does not reflect notions like 'subject' or 'object'; instead it reflects the semantic role of an argument. The roles marked are agent, patient and locative/goal; actor and theme roles takes Ø marking. Semantic role markers may, for pragmatic reasons, be omitted or replaced by an enclitic which indicates the pragmatic value of an NP. Peripheral arguments may be suffixed by ablative, genitive or associative case markers. Finally, a noun may be prefixed by a pronominal prefix which indicates the possessor of the prefixed N. The M noun has the structure given in Figure 2.

Figure 2: Schematic representation of the M noun

pronominal prefix	Root	Gender	Number	Quantifier	Case

3.2 The noun phrase

An NP may consist of a noun followed by derivational and inflectional morphology or may consist of a N and lexical adjectives and numerals or quantifiers. The order of these consituents within the NP is relatively free. Noun inflection in an NP occurs on the last consituent in the NP.

(7a) NP → N (Adj*) (Num/Quant)

As reflected in phrase structure rule (7a), an NP may consist of either a numeral or quantifier, but not both. Also, an NP may consist of one or more than one adjective. Devi (1979:157) provides (7b) to show that up to three adjectives can occur in an NP. Although in theory this number can be extended ad infinitum, in naturally occurring speech it is rare for more than one adjective to occur in a given NP.

(7b) əpíkpə   əmúbə   əsónbə
      ə -pík -pə ə -mú   -pə ə -són -pə
      att-small-nom att-black-nom att-weak-nom
      small   dirty   weak

      əŋáŋdu   kə́ppi
      əŋáŋ -tu   kə́p-li
      child-ddet cry-prog
      that child is crying
      A small weak dirty boy is crying.   MD157.1

Adjectives which specify the color, shape, quantity

and ordinality can may be moved after the head noun. Thus in (7c) the ordinal can occur before and in (7d) after the head noun; the specification of size can occur before N as in (7e), and after N as in (7f).

(7c) ənisubə   məcanupidu
      ə -ni -su -pə mə-ca   -nu   -pi -tu
      att-two-ALSO-nom nm-small-person-fem-ddet
      second   daughter
      the second daughter

(7d) məcanupi ənisubədu   MD151.1a,b

(7e) əčawbə   učéktu   phə́jə́y
      ə -čaw-pə učék-tu   phə́jə -ȋ
      att-big-nom bird-ddet beauty-nhyp
      big   that bird is beautiful
      That big bird is beautiful.

(7f) učék əčəwbədu phə́jəy   MD154.1a,b

Thus when more than one adjective occurs, the adjectives may occur in a sequence as in (7g) or may occur on either side of the head noun:

(7g) əmúbə   uček əčəwbə   əmə   payri
      ə -mú   -pə uček ə -čəw-pə ə -mə pay-li
      att-black-nom bird att-big-nom att-one fly-prog
      black   bird big   one   if flying
      A big black bird is flying.   MD155.1c

The preferred order for possessive adjectives (which

are formed by the suffixation of the genitive marker on the possessor noun) is to the left edge of the NP. According to Devi (1979:153), the possessive adjective may also be ordered freely with the other adjectives in the NP:

(7h) Tombagi   ənisubə   məčanupidu
      Tomba-ki ə -ni -su -pə mə -ča   -nu   -pi -tu
      Tomba-gen att-two-ALSO-nom nm-small-person-fem-ddet
      Tomba's   second   that daughter

      phəjəy
      phəjə -i
      beauty-nhyp
      is beautiful
      Tomba's second daughter is beautiful.

(7i) ənisubə Tombəgi məčanupidu phəjəy   MD153.1a,b

An adjective can be focused by moving it out of the noun phrase altogether and placing it at the end of the sentence.

(7j)   yensáŋ   khərə purəku
        yensáŋ   khərə pu   -lək   -u
        vegetables   some carry-distal-imp
        vegetables   some bring back

        yúmdəgi   əhaw   əhawbə
        yúm -təgi   ə   -haw   ə   -haw -pə
        house-abl   att-tasty   att-tasty-nom
        from the house   tasty   tasty
        Bring some vegetables from your house, the tasty
        tasty ones.   RFC16

Although ordinals may occur to the right or left of
the head noun, numerals may occur only to the right of the
head noun:

(7k)   phî   tərasi
        phî   təra-si
        cloth ten -pdet
        cloth ten -this
        these ten (pieces of) cloth   MD160.2a

Quantifiers may occur to the left of the N.   Thus
compare (7j) with (7l).

(7l)   khərə isiŋ   purə?u
        khərə i   -siŋ pu   -lək   -u
        some water-pl   carry-distal-imp
        some water   carry from there
        Bring me some water.   HM25.154.1

When an adjective and quantifier occur before the N,

the quantifier must precede the adjective.

(7m)   khərə čawbədə   microcomputer
       khərə čaw-pə ə -tu   microcomputer
       some   big-nom att-ddet microcomputer
       some   big that   microcomputer
       some of those big   microcomputers   RSS255

The following orders are not attested in my data:
QUANT-N-ADJ; ADJ-QUANT-N; and ADJ-N-QUANT.

3.3 Phrase structure of subordinated sentences

As described in Chapter 6, there are three formal ways
to subordinate a sentence. A nominalized clause is formed
through the suffixation of the nominalizing suffix -pə to
a non-inflected verb; such a clause has the structure given
in (3a) and is illustrated in (3b).

(3a)   Snom →   (NP*) V-nom

(3b)   ŋádu   phábə
       ŋá -tu   phá -pə
       fish-ddet   catch-nom
       that fish   to catch
       to catch fish   HM24.157.10

The nominalized clause is used in relative clause
formation: in a relative clause, which is a type of NP,
the relativized argument occurs to the right of a
nominalized verb as in (4a). The phrase structure rule
which generates relative clauses is given in (4b).

(4a) kolom páyrəbə   nipá
      kolom páy -lə -pə ni-pá
      pen   hold-perf-nom person-mas
      pen   one who held boy
      the boy who held the pen

(4b) NP   → S_{nom} N

Nominalized clauses are used to form complements. This is reflected in the phrase structure rules given in (5).

(5a) S   →   S' V
(5b) S' → S_{nom} (COMP)
(5c) S' →   S   QUOT

As shown in (5b), a complement consists of a nominalized clause and a complementizer. A quotative is used as complementizer when a sentence is subordinated. This is reflected in the phrase structure rule (5c). An example of a complement with a suffixal complementizer is given in (5d). An example with a quotative complementizer is given in (5e).

(5d) isiŋ   thə́kpədu
      i   -siŋ thə́k -pədu
      water-pl   drink-dcomp
      water that drinking
      from that drinking water   MD119

```
(5e)    məhaknə        thoyre
        mə-hak-nə      thoy -lə   -e
        3P-here-CNTR   first-perf-asrt
        she            had won

        háybəsi   Tombinə     khəŋŋí
        háy-pəsi  Tombi-nə    khəŋ-í
        say-dcomp Tombi-CNTR  know -nhyp
        this      Tombi       knew
        Tombi knew that she had won.
```

Finally, an adverbial clause can be derived through the suffixation of clausal subordinators to a nominalized clause. The phrase structure rule which is used to generate an adverbial clause is given in (6b). An example is given in (6a) where the clausal subordinator is the locative marker tə.

```
(6a)    əykhoydə       lakpədə
        əy-khoy-tə     lak -pə -tə
        I -pl  -loc    come-nom-loc
        to our place   when coming
        when coming to our place              GR12.12
```

```
(6b)    AdvP   →   S' CS
```

The formal aspect of subordination is described in Chapter 6, the function of various types of subordinated clauses from a pragmatic and epistemological prespective is described in Chapter 11.

3.4 Enclitics

Verbs, nouns and noun phrases, subordinate and root sentences can be affixed by enclitics. These encilitcs, described in detail in section 7.3, signal meanings such as interrogative mood, inclusiveness/exclusiveness, indicate the attitude of the speaker towards a propostion or place the constituent in a larger discourse context (such as the tagging of a constituent as being shared information). Interrogative sentences are created through suffixation of the interrogative enclitic to a nominal form; other sentence types such as the imperative and declarative, are formed through suffixation of inflectional markers to verbs. See Chapter 5 for a detailed discussion of sentence types.

3.5 Major lexical categories

In the remainder of this section I will discuss the lexical cateogries which participate in the phrase structure described so far. I distinguish between an "actual" and a "potential" lexicon for M.[1] The actual lexicon consists of an unordered list of underived roots and affixes and lexicalized forms. Each lexical entry in the actual lexicon consists of specifications about the phonological shape of the lexical item, what lexical category it belongs to and what its meaning is. On the other hand, the output of the potential lexicon consists of words created through productive morphological processes.

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[1] See Hoeksema (1985:4) for a detailed discussion of such an organization of the Lexicon.

In the actual lexicon, roots may be bound (those that
must be affixed by further morphology to be free standing
forms) or free. Nouns and verbs from the actual lexicon
can be distinguished on formal grounds in that bound roots
are verb and that free roots are nouns. They can further
be distinguished in that the inflectional and derivational
possibilities for each of these classes come from affixes
that belong to mutually exclusive sets (see Chapter 7). In
the potential lexicon, adjectives, adverbs and nominal
forms can be derived from verb roots and stative verbs can
be derived from noun roots.

3.5.1 Nouns

Nouns can be distinguished from other lexical
categories on morphological grounds. For example, nouns
and not verbs can be suffixed by gender, number or case
markers. Proper nouns and common nouns are free standing
forms. Traditional proper names are lexicalized forms of
stative verbs suffixed by the nominalizer. Thus an eldest
son might be called Tomba from tón 'top', and the
nominalizer -pə, literally, 'the one who is topmost' or
Chawba from čəw 'big' and the nominalizer -pə, literally
'the big one'.

A large number of nouns are borrowed from Hindi,
Assamese and Bengali and are often considered native M
words by native speakers. A near exhaustive listing of
these is given in L. Priyokumar Singh (1988).

3.5.1.1 Pronouns: personal and possessive

The singular personal pronouns are əy 'I', nə́ŋ 'you' and má 'he/she'. Possessive pronouns are formed through the suffixation of the genitive case marker -ki on a personal pronoun: əygi/nə́ŋi/magi yum 'my/your/his or her house'. There also exists a set of possessive pronominal prefixes i-, nə- and mə-, which are the first person, second person and third person possessive prefixes, respectively. These may be affixed to kinship terms or inalienably possessed nouns.

(8) a. imít   'my eye'   (SN)HM22.4

    b. nəkhóŋ 'your foot'   (SN)HM22.4

    c. məpá   'his grandfather'

    d. məyúm   'his house'[2]

The first person possessive prefix is more restricted in use than the the second or third person possessive prefixes: it appears only with kinship terms: so, iyúm for 'my house' is not possible, 'my house' must be expressed as əygi yúm. There are also certain taboos on use of the second person possessive with kinship terms. Promodini (1989a), reports that nə́ŋi nəmá 'your mother' is impolite, the socially acceptable form is the lexicalized sequence nə́ŋi imá which literally means 'your my mother'.

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[2] Houses are considered inalienable since they refer to an ancestral home rather than just to a building that may be acquired and disposed of.

As seen in the preceding paragraph, it is possible to use independent and prefixal possessives in the same NP. The choice between the use of just a prefixed noun such as ipá 'my father' and a phrase such as (9a) is determined by discourse factors: ipá is used when the father being spoken about has already been the topic of the conversation whereas əygi ipá is used at the first mention of father.

(9a) əygi   irəypák
       əy-ki i -ləy -pák
       I -gen 1PP-land-broad
       my country   Damant174

(9b) néŋgi   nəča   əykhoydə
       nəŋ-gi   nə-ča   əy-khoy-tə
       you -gen 2P-small   I -pl -loc
       of your your younger sister to our home

       lékpədə   əynə čak   čáhənkhí
       lék -pə -tə   əy-nə čak   čá -hən -khi -í
       visit-nom-loc I -agn rice eat-caus-still-nhyp
       visiting   I   food   already caused to eat
       During the course of her visit to our house I made
       her eat.   GR12.12

(9c) mági   məpá   ləykhirəmdre
       má-ki   mə -pá   ləy-khi -ləm-tə -lə   -e
       he-gen 3P-father   be -still-evd-neg-perf-asrt
       his   his father   already not alive
       When I got there his father was already dead.
                                        HM12.482

As shown in Table 1, personal pronouns may also be plural or dual. The plural is indicated by -khoy, the plural marker for humans (further discussion is given in Chapter 7). The dual consists of the sequence -bani which is a frozen form where ni is the root for 'two' and -ba is the probably the agentive marker -pə. This discussion of pronouns in this section is summarized in Table 1.

Table 1: **The singular, plural and dual pronouns**

	Singular	Plural	Dual
First	əy	əykhoy	ibani
Person	I	we	we two
Second	nə́ŋ	nəkhoy	nəbani
Person	you	you all	you two
Third	má	məkhoy	məbani
Person	he/she	they	them two

3.5.1.2 Pronouns: indefinite

Indefinite pronouns are also lexicalized forms composed of a question word (QW) which may be followed by the enclitic -su 'also'(as in 10a, b) or the sequence -kumbə which is the enclitic -kum 'like, kind of' and the nominalizer -pə (see 10c).

(10a)	(10b)	(10c)	
kərisu	kənasu	kərigumbə	
kəri-su	kəna-su	kəri-kum-pə	
what-ALSO	who-ALSO	what-like-nom	
nothing	anything	something[3]	Prom2.2.2

A QW may also occur with the numeral əmə 'one', which functions as an indefinite article: this is seen in (10d) with a verbal QW (i.e. a QW suffixed by the inquisitive marker -no, see Chapter 6). (10d) can be opposed to (10e): in (10d) the pronoun refers to a person who is seen but not identified whereas (10e) refers to an unknown entity whose presence can only be inferred (through the result of some action, for example).

(10d)	kənanomə	(10e)	kənagumbə əmə		
	kəna-no-mə		kəri-kum -pə ə -mə		
	who-INQ-one		what-LIKE-nom att-one		
	someone		someone		Prom2.2.1

The fact that indefinite pronouns are frozen forms is borne out by the morphology that can follow indefinite pronouns: the QW-numeral or QW-enclitic-numeral sequence may be suffixed by the verbal negative marker -tə (see 10f, g). The resulting form is apparently a noun since it may be further suffixed by a case marker (see 10h). The negative marker cannot affix to other nouns.

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[3] This form is also listed by Pettigrew (1912:24), as meaning 'how many, how much'. This meaning does not seem to be currently in use.

(10f)	(10g)	(10h)
kənamətə	kərimətə	kənamətədə
kəna-mə -tə	kəri-mə-tə	kəna-mə-tə-tə
who -one-neg	what-one-neg	who-one-neg-loc
nobody	nothing	to nobody MD211

3.5.1.3 Pronouns: relative

Relative pronouns are indicated through question words (QW). As noted in section 3.3 the strategy for creating relative clauses in M is to place the relativized noun directly after a nominalized clause; there no relative pronoun to mark the relative clause. An additional strategy for creating a relative clause involves using a QW as a relative pronoun (in conjunction with a quotative), to head the relative clause. See section 6.1.2.3 for description and examples.

3.5.1.4 Pronouns: demonstrative

As described in Chapter 6, there are two determiners in M, -si 'proximate' and -tu 'distal'.[4] -si indicates that the object or person being spoken of is near or currently seen or known to be near even if not viewable by the speaker or is currently the topic of conversation; -tu signifies something or someone not present at the time of speech or newly introduced in the conversation.

There are two pronouns which are based on these determiners: ədu 'it (there)' and əsi 'it (here)' where ə- is the attributive prefix. ədu and əsi can be distinguished from -si and -tu in that the pronouns are used only when there is a coreferential antecedent available.

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[4] These markers are derived from PTB roots *(h)i and *(h)əw (Benedict, 1983:1). Although -tu cannot be used as a free form, si may still be used as a free form:

(i) əŋáŋgisi   sidə   thə́mge
    əŋáŋ-ki -si   si -tə   thə́m -ke
    child -gen-pdet pdet-loc   place-opt
    for this child   at here   will keep
    (All) the food kept here is for the child (not for you,
    so stop eating it).   HM25.27.1a

(11a) kolom əsi   kərəmbə mígino?

      kolom ə -si   kərəmbə mí -ki -no

      pen   att-pdet   which   man-gen-INQ

      pen   this   which   man's is

      Whose pen is this?

      (Lit: Pen, this one, which man's is it?)   HM25.31a

Thus, in (11b), which is the first introduction of the doctor in the conversation, the pronoun is unacceptable whereas -tu is acceptable (the judgements are HM's).

(11b) daktərdu/   *daktər ədu   əygi   mərupni

      daktər-tu/ *daktər ə -tu   əy-ki   mərup -ni

      doctor -ddet doctor att-ddet I -gen friend-COP

      that doctor doctor that   my   friend is

      That doctor is my friend.

It is possible for the ə of the ədu to delete in fast speech so that the pronoun 'it' surfaces as a single phonological unit with the noun. However, the meaning signalled by the resulting noun-pronoun sequence is clearly different from noun-determiner sequence. Thus (11c) mígidu means 'that thing (over there) for the man'. If the meaning 'for that man over there' were to be signalled, the determiner would precede the case marker.[5]

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[5] Examples such as (5b) and (5c) argue against the notion (implicitly presented in works such as Devi (1979:158), that the pronouns and the determiners are simply variants of each other (i.e. that -si 'this' is əsi where the initial ə of the adjective is deleted in fast speech). Examples such as (i) and (ii) are given as

(11c) mígidu   təwrunu

    mí -ki ə -tu   təw-lu -nu

    man-gen att-ddet do -adir-prohh

    That is for the man, don't touch it.   HM25.28d

Also see section 6.6.4 for a discussion of the use of the pronoun ədu as the base for connectives.

    Two other demonstrative pronouns based on the determiners -si and -tu are: məsi 'this' and mədu 'that', where mə- is a noun marker (see section 7.2 for further description).

———————————————

evidence. I would argue that in these cases the speaker has set up some pragmatic situation where there is an antecedent to the pronoun and that (i) can be translated as 'That flower over there is beautiful' and (ii) as 'That flower (we just talked about) is beautiful'.

(i)   ləy   əŋaŋbədu   phə́jə́y

    ləy   ə -ŋaŋ-pə -tu   phə́jə -í

    flower att-red-nom-ddet beauty-nhyp

    flower that red   is beautiful

    The red flower is beautiful.

(ii) ləy   əŋaŋbə   ədu   phəjə́y

    ləy   ə -ŋaŋ-pə   ə -tu   phəjə -í

    flower att-red -nom att-ddet beauty-nhyp

    flower red   that   is beautiful

    The red flower, it is beautiful.   Devi158.1c,d

(12a) mədu   əy thaǰədedə́

      mə-tu   əy tha   -čə -tə -e -tə́
      nm-ddet   I believe-self-neg-asrt-EX
      that   I self do not believe
      I do not believe it.   HH45

(12b) məsi   kərəmbə   mígino

      mə-si   kərəmbə   mí -ki -no
      nm-pdet   which   man-gen-INQ
      this   whose   man's is it
      Whose pen is this?   HM25.31a

This set of demonstrative pronouns can be suffixed by case markers like other nouns. However, the meaning signalled by the resulting forms is idiosyncratic: the proximate and distal meanings are lost and mədu and məsi are not differentiated simply on the basis of distance of event/topic/thing from the speech act/speaker. This observation is supported by the data in Table 2., which gives a list of the most common forms of the demonstrative pronouns with mə- found in my corpus and the meanings they signal. As discussed in Chapter 6, these forms function as clausal subordinators.

Table 2: List of Demonstrative pronouns with mə-

Pronoun	With marker		Gloss
mədudə	locative	-tə	'upon this/that, then'
məsidə	locative	-tə	'regarding this/that'
mədugi	genitive	-ki	'of this/that'
məsigi	genitive	-ki	'for this/that'
mədunə	adverbial	-nə	'because of that'
məsidəgi	ablative	-təgi	'because of this'
mədubu	adversative	-pu	'but'

The demonstrative pronouns can be used as correlative pronouns.[6] The meaning difference between the use of **mədu** and **ədu** in these forms is not clear.

(13a) láyrik   nəmbəgi   wáphəmdo
       láyrik   nəm -pəgi   wá   -phəm -du
       book   press-for   topic-place-ddet
       book   for publishing that topic

       mədu   hánnə   əmuktə   khənnəsi
       mə -tu   hán -nə   ə -muk -tə   khən -nə   -si
       nm-ddet   ahead-adv att-once-dat   think-recip-sup
       that   already   once again   discuss
       'That plan to publish my book, let's get to that
       discussion once more.'   əMUK121

---

[6] A similar construction can be found in Lahu (Matisoff, 1976).

(13b) Asamdə   čə́tke   háynə   niŋləmbəni
      Assam-tə čə́t-ke   háy-nə   niŋ -ləm-pə -ni
      Assam-loc go -opt   say-adv wish-evd-nom-COP
      to Assam want to go that   wanted

      ədu   ŋəmdre
      ə -tu   ŋəm-tə -lε -e
      att-ddet   can-neg-perf-asrt
      that   was not possible
      (I) wished that I could go to Assam but I couldn't.
                                                    HM25.128.5

Whereas ədu and mədu occur after the referenced NP,
the forms əsi and məsi occur before the referenced NP. The
difference in meaning between əsi and məsi and the reason
for the distribution of the forms with the proximate and
distal markers, as illustrated in (13c), is not clear.

(13c) əsi   lə́ysi   phə́jə́y
      ə -si   lə́y -si   phə́jə -í
      att-ddet   flower-pdet   beauty-nhyp
      it   this flower   is beautiful
      This flower is beautiful.   MD149.1a

(13d) məsi   əŋáŋsi   núŋsí
      mə -si   əŋáŋ -si   núŋsi-í
      nm -pdet   child-pdet   love -nhyp
      it   this child   is sweet
      This child is sweet. (this, child here, is sweet)
                                                    MD149.2

3.5.1.5 Pronouns: emphatic

The possessive pronominal prefix may be affixed to the root **šá** 'body' to form pronouns emphasizing that the subject of the verb is a particular person or thing and no one or nothing else: **išánə** 'by myself' **nəšánə** 'by yourself'and **məšánə** 'by him/her/itself'.

(14a) əy išánə   čák thóŋbə   lóyjəre
       əy i -šá -nə čák thóŋ-pə lóy -čə -lə -e
       I 1P-body-CNTR rice cook-nom finish-self-perf-asrt
       I myself   rice to cook finish for self

       əy čák thóŋbə lóyjəre
       əy čák thóŋ-pə lóy -čə -lə -e
       I rice cook-nom finish-self-perf-asrt
       I rice to cook finish for self
       I did all the cooking by myself.   HM25.127.5

When an emphatic pronoun is used with an inanimate subject, the verb is a process verb.

(14b) čési   məšanə   thajəbəni
       čé   -si   mə-šá -nə tha -čə -pə -ni
       paper-pdet 3P-body-CNTR thick-self-nom-COP
       this paper itself   is thick
       The paper became thick by itself.   MD1413b

Another emphatic pronoun of this sort is a lexicalized form consisting of either the first or third person possessive prefix and **thəntə** where **thən** is the root 'lone, single' and **-tə** the locative marker. The lexicalized

status of this form is indicated by the failure of lexical phonological rules from applying to the form: the rule of Voicing Assimilation fails to apply to the t of the locative marker (see Chapter 10 for discussion of this rule).

(14c) əy ithəntənə   čák thóŋbə
      əy i -thən-tə-nə   čák thóŋ-pə
      I   1P-lone-loc-CNTR rice cook-nom
      I   myself   food to cook

      pháwbə   lóyre
      pháw-pə   lóy -lə -e
      up   -nom finish-perf-asrt
      already   have finished
      I have finished the cooking before you did.' (I
      finished the cooking myself.)   HM25.127.6

3.5.1.6 Numerals[7]

Numerals are adjectives. The numerals 1 to 10 are composed of a numerical stem and a prefix.

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[7] Much of this analysis is taken from Hodson (1908:163ff) who also provides comparisons with numeral systems in Thado, Mizo, Rangkhol and Khami.

Table 3: Manipuri numerals

əmə	1	təraməthoy	11	kuntəra	30
əni	2	təranithoy	12	niphu	40
əhum	3	tərahumthoy	13	yaŋkhay	50
məri	4	təranməri	14	humphu	60
məŋa	5	təraməŋa	15	humphutəra	70
təruk	6	təratəruk	16	məriphu	80
təret	7	təratəret	17	məriphutəra	90
nipán	8	təranipán	18	čəma	100
məpán	9	tərarəpán	19	čəni	200
təra	10	kun	20		

The prefixes have an established Proto-Tibeto-Burman ancestory but not all of these are used productively in the synchronic grammar of M. The numerals 1, 2 and 3 consist of the attributive prefix ə- and the roots mə '1', ni '2' and hum '3'; 4 and 5 consist mə 'one', and the root ri '4' and ŋa '5'. 6 and 7 and 10 consist of the prefix tə- (of whose origin I am unsure), and the root ruk '6', ret 'seven' and ra '10'. 8 and 9 are signalled as 2 minus 10 and 1 minus 10 respectively: where pán means 'subtract' and mə and ni are the roots for '1' and '2' respectively.

The numerals 11, 12 and 13 consist of təra '10' and thoy 'exceed, excel': thus eleven is təra '10'+ mə '1' and thoy 'excel'. The thoy is dropped for the numerals from 14 to 19. The even numbers 40, 60, and 80 are created through multiplication of juxatposed numbers, following a vigesimal system: thus niphu '40' is ni '2' times phu '20'; humphu '60' is hum '3' times '20' and məriphu '80' is məri '4' '20'.

The odd numbers 30, 50, 70 and 90 are an addition or/and division of two juxtaposed numerals. Thus <u>kuntəra</u> '30' is <u>kun</u> '20' plus <u>təra</u> '10'; <u>yaŋkhay</u> '50' is <u>yaŋ</u> '100'[8] which is divided in half as signalled by <u>khay</u> 'divide'; <u>humphutəra</u> '70' which is <u>hum</u> '3' times one score plus <u>təra</u> '10' and <u>məriphutəra</u> from <u>məri</u> '4' times one score plus <u>təra</u> '10'.

In 20-90 the multiplier comes before the added number but in 200 and upwards the multiplier comes after the added number. Thus <u>čəni</u> '200' from <u>čə</u> '100' and <u>ni</u> '2'.

Ordinal numerals are also adjectives, derived through the affixation of the attributive prefix <u>ə-</u> and the nominalizer <u>-pə</u> to any numeral suffixed by the enclitic <u>-su</u> 'also': thus <u>ənisubə</u> 'second one'. The only exception to this is <u>əhə́nbə</u> 'first' where the enclitic <u>-su</u> does not occur.

3.5.2 Verbs, adjectives, adverbs

As was stated above, verb roots are listed in the actual lexicon and are bound forms. A verb may be a free standing word if it is minimally suffixed by an inflectional marker. Verb roots may also be used to form verbal nouns, adjectives and adverbs. Verbal nouns are formed through the suffixation of the nominalizer <u>-pə</u> to a verb root. Thus <u>čə́t</u> 'go' becomes <u>čə́tpə</u> 'to go, going'.

---

[8] This gloss of <u>yaŋ</u> is taken from Hodson (1908:163).

3.5.2.1 Adjectives

An adjective is derived through the affixation of the attributive prefix ə- to a verbal noun. Thus the adjective əčəwbə 'big' is derived from the stative verb čəw 'be big': thus, əčəwbə mí 'big man' where mí is 'man'. This derivational ə- prefix can be found in many of the languages of the Tibeto-Burman family. Lepcha for example has a stressed variant a- which is used to derive adverbs from adjectives and Kachin, just as M, has a ə- prefix to derive adjectives from verbs (Lehman, 1976:21).

Adjectives may appear before or after the nouns they modify. See section 6.1.2.5 for further discussion of this point.

```
(15a) əwáŋbə         nupá ədu       iroyli
      ə -wáŋ -pə nupá ə  -tu    i  -loy -li
      att-tall-nom man att-ddet water-bath-prog
      tall          man  that    swimming
      The tall man is swimming.                    YS14.4
```

```
(15b) nupa əwáŋbə ədu iroyli                       YS14.5
```

Possessive adjectives are formed through the suffixation of the genitive marker -ki to the possessor of some N (see (9a, 11c) for examples).

3.5.2.2 Adverbs

Manner adverbs are formed through the suffixation of the adverbial marker -nə to a verb root. For example, the adverb lóynə 'completely, all' is derived from the verb lóy 'complete, finish'. A manner adverb can be negated with the suffixation of the negative marker -tə. Thus wanə 'sadly' becomes wadənə 'not sadly'.

Locative nouns, usually called locative adverbs in M, are derived through the prefixation of the noun marker mə- to noun or verb roots. Additionally, the meaning of a verb root is metaphorically extended when used as a locative adverb. For example: the root kha 'south' is used to mean 'below or underneath' in the corresponding locative adverb məkha. A representative list of locative adverbs along with the roots they are derived from is given in Table 4.

Table 4: A list of derived adverbs in M

Root	gloss	Adverb	gloss
khóŋ	'foot'	məkhóŋ	'at the foot'
məy	'tail'	məməy	'at the end'
nak	'adjacent'	mənak	'next to'
nuŋ	'in'	mənuŋ	'inside'
pan	'rule'	məpan	'outside'
ton	'nose'	məton	'at the tip'
tuŋ	'store'	mətuŋ	'behind'
thək	'up'	məthəktə	'topside'
thə́ŋ	'next'	məthə́ŋ	'before, in front of'

Temporal adverbs are frozen compounds: for example,
ŋəsi 'today', ŋəraŋ 'yesterday' and həyeŋ 'tomorrow' are
most likely bimorphemic although the meaning of the
individual stems is not clear. Similarly, although (16a)
is not considered bimorphemic by speakers, it is composed
of roots used productively in the synchronic grammar of the
M.

(16a) həwjik

həw -čik

begin-sever

right now

A limited number of verbs roots undergo zero
derivation to function as adverbs and with this function
appear as free forms. For example the verb hék 'pluck,
pick' functions as an adverb to indicate 'just, precisely
V'. In these cases, I assume that there are two lexical
listings in the actual lexicon for the item hék, one where
the category is identified as a verb and the other where it
is identified as an adverb.

(16b) hék ləyrəkpəni

hék ləy-lək   -pə -ni

just buy-distal-nom-COP

just bought from there   HH12

Adverbs may occur in a sequence in sentences. In this
case, the order of adverbs determines their semantic scope.
This sequence must occur to the left of the verb but does
not necessarily have to be adjacent to the verb:

(16c)   hénnə   yámnə   (16d) yámnə   hénnə
        hén -nə yám -nə   yám -nə hén -nə
        more-adv much-adv   much-adv more-adv
        (I've eaten) a bit   (I've eaten) a lot
        more (than you).   more (than you).

                                                    HM11.102a

3.6 Minor categories

The three minor lexical categories of M are quantifiers, interjections and discourse markers. These are considered minor categories because these lexical items are closed sets which express meanings most often encoded by affixal morphology.

3.6.1 Quantifiers

Lexical quantifiers in M are lexicalized forms consisting of the prefix khV- (where V can be ə, i, or u) This prefix is unproductive in the synchronic grammar of M.[9] These are khərə 'some' which indicates an indeterminate amount as in (17a); khitən[10] 'a little bit' of some tangible material as in (17b); and khəjiktə which indicates a short amount of time as in (17c).

---

[9] This prefix is most probably cognate to the Garo and Baro kV- prefix (where the V stands for a variable vowel), which derives adjectives from intrasative verbs (see Burling, 1984:36). khəjiktə may be composed of this prefix and the root čik 'sever' as seen in (10a).

[10] khitə́ŋ has nonaspirated variant kitə́ŋ.

(17a) satrə   khərənə
      satrə   khərə-nə
      student some -agn
      by some students   əMUK37

(17b) išiŋ   khitəŋ   purəʔu
      i   -siŋ khitəŋ   pu   -lək   -u
      water-pl   a little bring-distal-imp
      water   a little bring here
      Bring me a little bit of water.   HM25.53.7b

(17c) čák khəjiktə   əmuktə   čáhənkho
      čák khəčik -tə ə -muk -loc čá -hən -khi -o
      rice a while-loc att-once-at   eat-caus-still-SOLCT
      rice for a while once again   cause to continue eat
      (Will you), wait a while so that he can eat.
                             HM25.53.3

These quantifiers can be combined as in <u>išiŋ khərə khitəŋ purəʔu</u> 'Bring me just a little bit of water.' (taken from HM25.154.1, see (17a,b) above for gloss) where <u>khərə</u> and <u>khitəŋ</u> are used to emphasize the diminutive amount of water to be brought.

The quantifier <u>khərə</u> can also be used as an adverb as seen in (17d).

(17d) əynə   mábu   khərə khəŋŋí

      əy-nə   má-pu khərə khəŋ-í

      I -CNTR he-pat some know-nhyp

      I   him   some know

      I know him a little bit.   HM25.53.7a

A final quantifier with the khV- prefix is khudiŋ 'everyone'.

(17e) satra khudiŋmək   təwbədi   nətte

      satra khudiŋ -mək   təw-pə -ti nətte

      student everyone-EACH   do -nom-DLMT not

      student each and everyone that doing   not

      '...it isn't that each and every student does it.'

                                                  əMUK37

Other quantifiers which consist of a verb root and the adverbial marker -nə are: yámnə 'very, a lot'; lóynə 'every'; and púmnə 'all'. When used as quantifiers, lóynə and púmnə must be affixed by -mək 'each'. See section 8.3.4.3 for examples and further discussion.

3.6.2 Interjections

The lexical items in this category, which is defined on the semantic similarity of its members, all express strong emotion. Most of these are composite forms where one syllable is identifiable as the exasperative enclitic -hé (see section 7.3 or further discussion) and the second syllable is not identifiable as a productive affix or stem.

Table 5: List of interjections

Interjection	Gloss	Source
həymə	How can that be!	əMUK93
	(may express surprize or sadness)	
eʔ	Of course, sure it will!	HM6.149g
iʔhé	How unfortunate/awful!	HM6.149h
héra	That's dumb of you!	HM11.151e
əs	Oh, hell!	GR(p.c.)
ish	Wonder of wonders!	HH

As seen in (18a) and (18b), question words can also function as interjections.

```
(18a) ho    kərino       tuminləyyune
      ho    kəri-no      tum  -min      -ləy-u   -ne
      intj  what-INQ     sleep-together-be -imp-SI
      heh   what is it all of you be silent, won't you
      Heh, be quiet!                              əMUK139
```

```
(18b) kərino       hawkhre
      kəri-no      haw  -khi  -lə  -e
      what-INQ     taste-still-perf-asrt
      what is it tasted
      How tasty!                                  MD265.2a
```

3.6.3 Discourse markers

Question words (QW) are used as discourse markers. For example, the QW kərino (or kəyno in fast speech) is

used as a hesitation marker, where the speaker is
indicating a momentary lapse in memory, translating roughly
in English as 'Now, what was it I was going to say?'

(19a)
Rajən nəkhoygi   ə: oja   óyrəmbə   kəyno
Rajən nə-khoy-ki   ə: oja   óy-ləm-pə kəyno
Rajan 2P-hpl -gen   um teacher be-evd-nom what is it
Rajan your   um teacher who is   what is it

daktər Cəndel   kəydəwŋəy lakkəni   háyge
daktər Cəndel   kəydəwŋəy lak -kə -ni   háy-ke
doctor Chandel when   come-pot-COP   say-opt
doctor Chandel when   will come   said
Rajan, on which day did your teacher, what's his
name, Dr. Chandel say he would come?'   RSS1

(19b) ədə   kəynodi   kəday
      ə -tu -tə   kəyno   -ti   kəday
      att-ddet-loc what is it-DLMT   where
      then   what is it   where

      čə́tkhige   Sushiladi
      čə́t-khi -ke   Sushila-ti
      go -still-opt   Sushila-DLMT
      wants to go   that
      All right then, what's her name, where has she
      gone, that Shushila?'   RSS40

kəyno can also be used to indicate the beginning of a new
topic:

(19c) kəynonə   əykhoy   manə
      kəyno   -nə əy-khoy ma   -nə
      what is it-adv I -hpl   mother-CNTR
      well then   our   mother
      'Well, my mother...'   RSS108

The QW <u>kəyno</u> also occurs in the idiomatic phrase <u>kəyno</u> <u>tə́wre</u> 'so, anyway' (Lit: what is it done), where it is used by the speaker to indicate the transition of the conversation from one topic to another.

(19d)
má skop yamnə   lə́ybəni   mági
má skop yam -nə   lə́y -pə -ni má -ki
her scope much-adv have-nom-COP her-gen
her scope a lot   is   her's

kəyno   tə́wre   ədəygi   nə́ŋnə   sidə
kəyno   tə́w-lə -e   ə -təgi-ki nə́ŋ-nə si -tə
what is it do -perf-asrt att-abl -gen you-CNTR pdet-loc
so anyway   from that   you   here

thúŋəbnə   kəydəwŋəy thúŋŋəbə
thúŋ-lə -pə-nə   kəydəwŋəy thúŋ-lə háy-pə
reach-pro-nom-adv when   reach-perf say-nom
for reaching   when   reached, you say

She has a lot of scope, her (...incompleted thought), so anyway, then, in order to reach here (changes line of questioning), when did you say you reached here?' RSS 71

The QW <u>kərəm</u> 'how' also appears in two idiomatic

phrases with the verb t̪ə́w 'do'. The first is (19e), which is used as a common greeting between friends who have not seen each for awhile.[11] (19f) is a conventionalized preamble to the telling of an event that has taken place in the remote past. It is found frequently in traditional narratives.

---

[11] The greeting used between people who meet on a day-to-day basis is cák cárəbra 'Have you eaten'. The Meiteis customarily begin their days at 4 am and have had their main meal of the day by 9 am when the business day starts. It is polite when meeting someone at this time to inquire if they have as of yet had their morning meal, with the understanding that if all has gone well, they, will in fact, have eaten. The appropriate reply is:

(i) cáre
    cá -lə -e
    eat-perf-asrt
    eaten

Only one of the interlocutors is expected to ask the question, the reply, (i), completes the mutual greeting.

```
(19e)                          (19f)
kəmdəwre                       nóŋmədi      kəmdəwri¹²
kərəm-téw-lə  -e               nóŋ-mə-ti    kərəm-téw-li
how  -do -perf-asrt            day-one-DLMT how  -do -prog
How do you do?                 one day      how was doing
                               What happened one day...
```
<div align="right">HM14.81.6</div>

The QW <u>kərigino</u> 'of what is it', can be used to introduce a direct quote as in (19g), where the speaker sets up the situation in which the speech act that he is about to report occurred.

---

¹² Alternatives are:

```
i.   nóŋmədi       kəmdəwwí
     nóŋ-mə-ti     kərəm-təw-í
     day-one-DLMT  how  -do -NHYP
     one day       how done                         HM14.81.6


ii.  nóŋmədi       kəmdəwge      háybəbu
     nóŋ-mə -ti    kəm-təw-ke    háy-pə -pu
     day -one-DLMT how-do -opt   say-inf-pat
     one day       how wanted to do that            HM14.81.6
```

(19g) phə́jənə   háyrəbəni   kəriginobu
      phə́jə-nə   háy-lə -pə -ni   kərigi -no -pu
      beauty-adv   say-perf-nom-COP   of what-INQ-ADVR
      beautifully   said that   what was that

      phə́ttəbə
      phə́ -tə-pə
      good-neg-nom
      bad

      khənjinle   moydu   pumme
      khən -cin-lə -e   mə-khoy-tu   pum-lə -e
      think-in -perf-asrt 3P-hpl -ddet   rot-perf-asrt
      chosen   they   are rotten
      '...I put it to them beautifully, what was that (I
      said), having made a bad selection, they will be
      rotten (the ones selected...'   RSS38

Chapter 4

4 Grammatical relations and information structure

In this chapter I discuss how grammatical relations are indicated in M and what the role of morphological case marking is in indicating these relations. Like many related languages, such as the Lolo-Burmese language Lahu (Matisoff 1972) and Lisu (Hope 1974, Li and Thompson 1976), the concept of 'subject' and 'object' are irrelevant in M. The basic thesis that will be explored here is that morphological marking on NP arguments in M do not reveal syntactic relations. Instead, M is what Dixon (1991:27) refers to as "a 'pure' type language in which all (thematic) role marking (is) absolutely direct and there (is) no need for reference to basic syntactic relations, S(ubject), A(gent) and O(bject). In terms of Foley and Van Valin's (1984:124) classification of inter-clausal syntax in the world's languages, M can be classified as a "role-dominated" language, where distinctions between grammatical relations and semantic roles are unclear, and not a "reference" dominated language where such a distinction does exist. As will be shown in this chapter, verbs in M subcategorize for argument(s) with a specific theta-role indicated through morphological marking. I will first provide evidence that notions such as 'subject' and 'object' are not necessary in the description of M clause structure. I will then present a classification of verbs, describing the argument structure of each verb class and the theta role that an argument a verb subcategorizes for might exhibit. The specific morphological markers which

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indicate theta roles will be identified. I will also show
how surface morphological marking is often obscured through
the overlay of a system of pragmatic marking which deletes
or replaces theta-role markers with pragmatic markers,
and/or manipulates word order for pragmatic effect. I will
then describe how morphological case markers indicate the
case of peripheral NPs. Finally, I provide some notes on
case on pronouns.

4.1 Phrase Structure

The following section will demonstrate that there is
no asymmetry between the arguments of a predicate in M.
Unlike English where the subject is external to the VP
(immediately dominated by S) and the direct object is
internal to VP (immediately dominated by VP), in M all the
arguments of a verb are projections of S. In this section
evidence will be given to support this 'flat' structure
analysis of M. It will be shown that VP is not a
constituent in M since (1) there are no rules which
specifically refer to the VP constituent, (2) there is no
evidence for an external argument and so no evidence for a
subject-object asymmetry, and (3) there is no adjacency
requirement between the verb and its arguments (as in
English where the direct object must occur adjacent to a
verb) .

In languages which exhibit an asymmetry between the
external argument and the arguments in VP, there are
syntactic rules or co-referential constituents which refer
specifically to the VP constituent. For example, in
English <u>did too</u> refers to the entire VP <u>thought he would</u>

<u>run</u> in the following sentence:

(1a) John thought he would run and Bill did too.

Such VP anaphors do not exist in M.   In sentences equivalent to (1a), the V must be repeated in the second clause.

(1b)   Jonnə   nanthoknə́bə   hotnərəmmi
        Jon-nə   nan   -thok-nə́bə   hotnə-ləm-i
        John-CNTR escape-out-in order to try-evd-nhyp
        John   to escape   tried

        əməsuŋ   Bilsu   hotnərəmmi
        ə -mə -suŋ   Bil -su   hotnə-ləm-i
        att-one-ALSO Bill-ALSO   try -evd-nhyp
        and also   Bill too   tried
        John tried to escape and Bill did too.   SN5.5.1

As noted in Bhat (1991:150), evidence against a VP constituent in M is also established by the fact that there is no adjacency requirement between the Patient NP and V. For example the Patient is adjacent to V in (1c), but the goal, and not the Patient, is adjacent to V in (1d). Thus, since VP is not a valid constituent in M, the concept of "direct object" is also irrelevant. I conclude from this, that M phrase structure is flat and nonconfigurational; the major categories thus are simply V and the NPs it subcategorizes for. In the remainder of this section, I provide further evidence for a flat structure for Manipuri.

(1c) Ramnə   Tombədə   láyriktu   pírəmmí
      Ram-nə   Tombə-də   láyrik-tu   pí -ləm-í
      Ram-cnrt   Tombə-loc book   -ddet give-evd-nhyp
      Ram   to Tomba   the book   gave
      Ram gave the book to Tomba.   HM11.111

(1d) Tombənə   láyriktu   tombidə   pírəmmí
      Tombə-nə   láyrik-tu   tombi-tə   pí -ləm-í
      Tomba-CNTR book-ddet   Tombi-loc give-evd-nhyp
      Tomba   the book to Tombi   gave
      Tomba gave the book to Tombi.   HM.T26

4.1.1 Subjects in complements

A characteristic of infinitival clauses is that they
are subjectless. Thus in English the subject of the
complement, <u>John</u> is omitted in <u>John wants to go</u>. On the
other hand, a direct object cannot be omitted from a
complement: so, in <u>Jack made John catch the lizard</u>, <u>the
lizard</u> can not be omitted. In M, as in English, the actor
argument of an infinitive complement may also be omitted as
seen in (2a).

(2a) Jon   cə́tpə   pámmí
      Jon   cə́t-pə   pám -í
      John go -nom   like-nhyp
      John to go   likes
      John$_i$ wants e$_i$ to go.   GR24.12.2

Additionally, unlike English, patient arguments of
complement clauses may also be deleted. In (2b) the
recipient of 'beating' is omitted; in (2c) the recipient of

'teach' is omitted; and in (2d) the recipient of 'shoot' is omitted.[1]

(2b)

phúroy	háydúnə	thádokle		
phú-loy	háy-túnə	thá	-thok-lə	-e
beat-negf	say-by	place-out	-perf-asrt	
will not beat	thus	released		

Without giving (him) a beating (someone) let
him go.   Pt31.2

(2c)

nə́ŋnə	liŋgwistiks	təmbibədə		əy	núŋší
nə́ŋ-nə	liŋgwistiks	təm -pi -pə -tə	əy	núŋši-í	
you-CNTR	linguistics	teach-rec-nom-loc	I	happy-nhyp	
you	linguistics	to teach		I	am happy

When you teach (me) linguistics I am happy.

(2d)

Tombənə	háyrəmmí	Raju	noŋməynə	kapjə́y		
Tombə-nə	háy-ləm-í	Raju	noŋməy-nə	kap	-čə	-í
Tomba-CNTR	say-evd-nhyp	Raju	gun	-inst	shoot-self-nhyp	
Tomba	said	Raju	with gun		shoot self	

Tomba said that Raju shot himself with a gun.

In fact, arguments may be freely deleted in M: see (2e) and (2f) where it is shown that a sentence may consist of just a verb.

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[1] In this chapter, the examples for which no source is indicated are taken my field tape #30.

(2e) hatkhre   (2f) cáre

hat -khi -lə -e   cá-lə   -e

kill-still-perf-asrt   eat-perf-asrt

He killed him.   I've eaten.

Thus the actor argument of a subordinate clause, even when not coreferential with the actor argument of the main clause, can be omitted as in (2g-h).

(2g) təwribəge   háybədu əy khəŋŋi

təw-li -pə -ke háy-pədu əy khəŋŋ-i

do -prog-nom-opt say-ddet I know -nhyp

wanting to do   that   I know

I know what you are doing right now.

(2h) əy cətkhibə   pámmí

əy cət-khi -pə   pám -í

I go -still-nom   want-nhyp

I already gone   want

I want you to be gone already.   GR24.0.1

From examples (2a-h) we can conclude that arguments have equal status with regard to whether or not they can be omitted in complement structures.

4.1.2 Subjects in nominalization

In nominal constructions, the external argument takes genitive marking in English.

(3a) It is good that <u>John amused the children</u> with his
      stories.

(3b) <u>John's amusing the children</u> with his stories is good.

In M a nominalized clause is formed through morphological
marking on the verb which heads the clause to be
nominalized; marking on the arguments of the verb is the
same whether the arguments occur in a sentence or a
nominalized construction.

(3c) əŋáŋsiŋnə   láyrik təmniŋdribəsi
      əŋáŋ -siŋ-nɔ   láyrik təm -niŋ-tə -li -pəsi
      child-pl -CNTR   book   learn-wish-neg-prog-dcomp
      the children   book   not wanting to study
      the children's not wanting to study   əMUK48

Bhat (1991:145), also points to nominal clauses formed with
use of nominalized verb stems (nouns created through the
prefixation of nominalizing marker <u>khu-</u> and <u>mə-</u>[2] which
'denote the way in which an event or activity is being
carried out or a characteristic is possessed).

(3d) mánə   cîŋdə   káy
      má-nə   cîŋ -tə   ká   -í
      he-CNTR   hill-loc climb-nhyp
      he   to hill   climbs
      He climbed the hill.   Bhat1991.5.145

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[2] The prefix <u>khu-</u> is no longer productive in M; the
prefix <u>mə-</u> is described in Chapter 7.

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(3e)  mági     cìŋgi    khuka      phéjəde
      má-nə    cìŋ -tə  khu-ka     phéjə-tə-e
      he-CNTR  hill-loc nom-climb  good-neg-asrt
      he       to hill  climbing   not good
      His way of climbing the hill is not good.
```

<div align="right">Bhat1991.5.145</div>

In these constructions as well, one argument is not singled out over another for special treatment: both the agent and goal arguments are in the genitive.

4.1.3 Pronominal and anaphoric co-reference

Consider the English sentences in (4a-c). The sentences in (4) show that a certain structural relationship has to hold between <u>himself</u> and its antecedent. First, the antecedent must precede the pronoun: (4a) is grammatical whereas (4b) is not. Second, the pronoun must be "within reach" of the antecedent it is referentially linked to. Thus (4a), where the pronoun is in the same clause as its antecedent, is grammatical but (4c), where the pronoun is in the complement, is ungrammatical.

(4a) John knows himself.
(4b) *Himself John knows.
(4c) *John$_i$ thinks that Mary knows himself$_i$.

These facts are expressed in the theory of Government and Binding (Chomsky: 1982:188) by the Binding Theory which states, in part, that an *anaphor* must be *bound* in its *governing category*. Each of the terms in italics in

preceding sentence are technical. The term 'anaphor' refers
to NPs like <u>himself</u> or <u>each other</u>. We can assume for the
point being made here that the governing category of the
pronominal is the minimal clause containing it.[3]. In a
structure as shown in Figure 1, the subject position is
said to 'bind' the object position because the antecedent
and the pronominal are co-indexed (referentially linked to
each other) and because the subject position c-commands the
object position. C-command is defined as follows (taken
from van Riemsdijk and Williams 1986:142):

C-command: A c-commands B if and only if the first
branching node dominating A also dominates B
and A does not itself dominate B.

Figure 1: $NP_{(subject)}$ binds the $NP_{(object)}$.
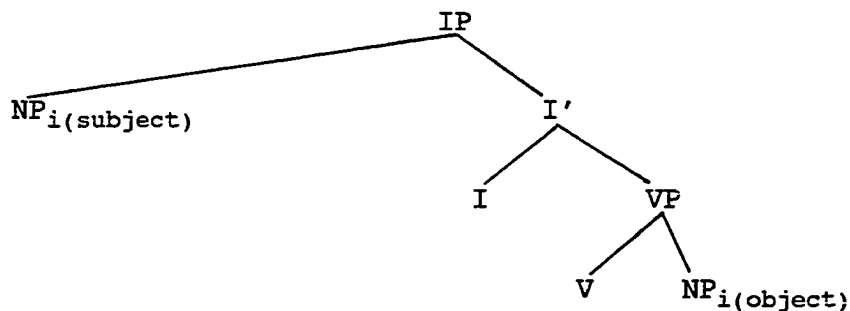
Significantly, the binding relationship is not
symmetric since the subject position c-commands the object

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[3] The reader may refer to Chomsky (1982:211), for the
precise definition of governing category.

position but the object position does not c-command the subject position. So (4a) is grammatical because the anaphor is bound in its governing category; (4b) is ungrammatical because the anaphor binds the antecedent not vice versa and (4c) is ungrammatical because there is no antecedent in the governing category of the anaphor to bind it; that is, the intended antecedent is too far away.

Consider also (4d) and (4e): (4d) shows that a pronominal NP, in this case the pronoun <u>him</u>, cannot be co-referential with an NP in the same clause. In Binding theory this is expressed as a principle which states that a pronominal must be free in its governing category. Thus (4e) is grammatical whereas (4d) is not since in (4e) the pronominal is not co-indexed with an NP in the same clause.

(4d) *$John_i$ knows him_i.
(4e) $John_i$ thinks that Mary knows him_i.

If the Binding theory is true for languages which exhibit an asymmetry between subject and object position, it follows that in languages which do not exhibit this asymmetry, anaphors and pronominals will not necessarily have the same structural relationship with their antecedents. Using examples (4f-i), I will show that this is the case in M.

In M a pronominal may be co-indexed to an NP in the same clause. In (4f), just as in English, the pronoun <u>mábu</u> 'him' must be free: the pronoun <u>mábu</u> must either refer to <u>Tomba</u> or have an arbitrary reference, it cannot refer to <u>Raju</u>.

(4h) Rajunə   mábu   noŋməynə   kapkhi
      Raju-nə   má-pu   noŋməy-nə   kap -khi
      Raju-CNTR he-pat gun   -inst shoot-still
      Raju   him   with gun   already shoot

      háynə   Tombənə   háykhi
      háy-nə Tombə-nə háy-khi
      say-adv Tomba-CNTR say-already
      that   Tomba   had said

      Tomba$_i$ had said that Raju$_j$ had shot him$_{i/k}$ with a
      gun.   GR24.26.3

However, this restriction can be overcome: if the
verbal affix -čə 'V for the sake of self' occurs with the
verb of the subordinate clause, then Raju can serve as the
antecedent for the pronoun (see (4g)). The verb thus
marked can be thought of as containing an incorporated
pronoun so that the verb in (4g) is best glossed as 'self-
shoot'.

(4g) Tombənə   Rajunə   mábu
     Tombə-nə   Raju-nə   má-pu
     Tomba-CNTR Raju-CNTR he-pat
     Tomba   Raju   him

     noŋməynə   kapjəbə   pámmí
     noŋməy-nə   kap -čə -nom pám-í
     gun   -inst shoot-self-nom like-nhyp
     with gun   to shoot   wanted
     Tomba$_i$ wanted Raju$_j$ to (self-)shoot him$_j$ with a gun.

                                        GR24.26.3

From examples (4a-g), I conclude that in M a pronominal is
not necessarily 'free' in its governing category.

Recall that the Binding Theory states that anaphors
are bound in their governing category.   In M there are
three types of data where this is not the case: (1) an
antecedent can precede or follow the anaphor and (2) there
are long distance reflexives and (3) emphatic reflexives
are not bound.

The c-command relationship does not hold between the
anaphor and its antecedent in the (b) examples in (5) and
(6) since the anaphor occurs before the NP and it is the
anaphor which binds the NP it is co-indexed with.

(5a)   jonnə   məsábu   újərəmmi
        jon -nə   mə-sá -pu   ú -čə   -ləm-i
        John-CNTR   3P-self-adv   see-self-evd-nhyp
        John   himself   saw self
        John (self-)saw himself.

(5b)   məsábu jonnə újərəmmi
        John (self-)saw himself.   SN5.6b.1

(6a)   Tombənə   məthəntə   púzəy
        Tombə-nə   mə-thən-tə   pú -cə -í
        Tomba-CNTR   3P-lone-loc   beat-self-nhyp
        Tomba   himself   beats
        Tomba (self-)hit himself.   GR24.15.4a

(6b)   məthəntə Tombənə púzəy
        Tomba hit himself.   GR24.15.4b

(7a)   John məsámək   pərikhya pas təwgəni
        John mə-sá -mək   pərikhya pas təw-kə -ni
        John 3P-body-each   test   pass do -pot-COP
        John self   test   pass will be doing

        háynə   thəzəy
        háy -nə   thəzə -í
        that-adv   believe-nhyp
        that   believes
        John thinks that he is going to pass the exam.

(7b) məhaknə   ˙ láyrik kə́nnə   páy
      mə-hak -nə   láyrik kə́n -nə pá -í
      3P-here-CNTR book   hard-adv read-nhyp
      here   book   hard   read
      He studied very hard.

      məsánə   pərikhya pas təwgəni
      mə-sá -nə   pərikhya pas təw-kə -ni
      3P-body-CNTR   test   pass do -pot-COP
      himself   test   pass doing that

      háynə   thazəy
      háy -nə   thazə-í
      that-adv believe-nhyp
      that   believe
      (He) thinks that himself will pass the
      exam.   GR24.5.3

Note that (5b) and (6b) were elicited in isolation.
However, my consultant indicated (7b) would only be
possible in extended discourse.[4] It has been argued that
to get a true picture of the distribution of anaphors it is
necessary to look at their distribution both in discourse
as well as in sentence grammar, (Zribi-Hertz, 1989). In
keeping with this idea, I present (7b) as evidence that
anaphors do not need to be bound in M: in this sequence of
sentences, the anaphor has its antecedent in the previous
sentence, not in the clause in which it occurs.

The Binding theory is also challenged by the presence

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[4] I am not sure if this applies to (5b) and (6b) also.

of long distance reflexives in M where a reflexive is not bound in its governing category. In (8a) the reflexive __məsamək__ 'himself' does not have its antecedent in the minimal clause in which it occurs i.e. 'that himself won't pass the exam'.

(8a)　Jonnə　　　Tombagidəmək　　nizéy　　háynə
　　　 John-nə　　 Tomba-ki -təmək　nizə-í　 háy -nə
　　　 John-CNTR　Tomba-gen-precise pray-nhyp that-adv
　　　 John　　　 for Tomba　　　 prays　 that

　　　 məsámək　　 pərikhya pas　təwroy
　　　 mə-sá -mək　 pərikhya pas　təw-loy
　　　 3P-body-each test　　　 pass do -npot
　　　 self　　　　 test　　　 pass will not
　　　 As John (spent all his time) praying for Tomba, John
　　　 won't pass the exam.　　　　　　　　　　 GR24.6.3

Manipuri also exhibits 'emphatic' reflexives which violate the c-command constraint since in these constructions the pronouns are free (8b), or have an antecedent in another clause (8c).

(8b) John_ə   məsámək   pərikhya pas
      John-nə   mə-sá -mək   pərikhya pas
      John-CNTR 3P-body-EACH   test   pass
      John   himself   test   pass

      təwbə háynə   nizəy
      təw-pə háy -nə   nizə -í
      ċo -nom that-adv   pray -nhyp
      doing   that   prays
      John prays that himself will pass the exam.

                                            GR24.7.1

(8c) John_ə   pərikhya pas   təwgəni   háynə
      John-nə   pərikhya pas   təw-kə-ni   háy -nə
      John-CNTR test   pass do -gen-CCP that-adv
      John   test   pass will do   that

      məsáməknə   thəzəy
      mə-sá-mək   thəzə -í
      3P-body-each   believe-nhyp
      himself   belives
      John believes that (he) himself will pass the exam.
                                            GR24.5.4

I mention these facts because Bhat (1991:147) uses examples of long distance reflexives (see his example 147:114b) and emphatic reflexives (see his example 147: 112a-113) as part of his argument that M does not have an external argument. I am unclear as to how this supports his thesis since the phenomena of long distance reflexives also occurs in languages with subjects (e.g Dutch, German and Russian (Van Riemsdijk and Williams, 1986:283). Also,

emphatic reflexives are found in languages with a demonstrated external argument position, for instance, in English discourse data (Zribi-Hertz, 1989).

To restate the point being made in this section: languages with a clause structure similar to English exhibit restrictions concerning pronominals and anaphors as stated by the Binding theory. Since M does not have the same clause structure as English, the Binding theory does not make the appropriate predictions for M anaphora.

4.1.4 Extraction from subject

Subject position can be distinguished from object position in that the possibility of extracting from subject position is more restricted than from object position. Thus, as illustrated in the following English examples taken from Kiss (1988), where it is possible to question an object from the complement in (9a) but not the subject (9b).

(9a) Who$_i$ did you say that they called in e$_i$ first?
(9b) *Who$_i$ did you say that e$_i$ went in first?

However, in M it is possible to question either argument of a subordinate clause. Thus in (9c) the goal is questioned and in (9d) the actor is questioned.

(9c)

nə́ŋnə	puthorəkkəni			háybədu	kərino
nə́ŋ-nə	pu -tho-lək	-kə -ni		háy-pədu	kəri-no
you-CNTR	bring-out-distal-pot-COP			say-dcomp	what-INQ
you	will bring			said that	what is it

What is it that you said that you will be bringing?

HM25.65.1

(9d)	əsuk	thə́ŋnə	laklibəsibu		kənanone
	ə -suk	thə́ŋ-nə	lak -li	-pəsi-pu	kəna-no -ne
	att-all	late-adv	come-prog-pdet-pat		who -INQ-SI
	all	late	this coming		who is it

Who is (it) that has come so late?   HM6.138.1

4.1.5 Subjects in imperative constructions

Typically, imperative constructions require a 2nd person actor. Thus in the English sentence Wash, a second person actor is the understood subject. However, the person of the patient argument is not restricted. In this way, the subject is given special status with regard to its theta role and person in imperative constructions.

In M, a verb with imperative inflection may subcategorize for an actor argument, in this case the actor must refer to second person. Thus, the actors in (9e) are possible but the actors in (9f) are not.[5]

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[5] YS claims that the reflexive can be a actor of an imperative sentence and provides (i) as an example. However, examples such as (ii) indicate that the actor in (i) is in fact an unrealized second person pronoun and that

(9e) nə́ŋ / nəkhoy čák čánu
     nə́ŋ / nə-khoy čák čá-nu
     you   2P-hpl rice eat-probh
     You/ you all don't eat rice!   HM25.88.5

(9f) *əykhoy/ əy/ má/ məkhoy čák čánu
     əy-khoy əy má mə-khoy čák čá -nu
     I -hpl I he/she 3P-hpl rice eat-probh
     we /I he/she/ they rice eat
     Don't eat rice   HM25.88.

However, there is no restriction on the role of the
argument which occurs with imperatives. That is, the

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the reflexive is just a resumptive emphatic.

(i) nəsáməknə thəbək ədu taw
     nə-sá -mək -nə thəbək ə -tu taw-u
     2P-body-ONLY-CNTR work att-ddet do -imp
     yourself work that do
     (You) yourself do that work!   YS244.59a

(ii) nə́ŋ/ nəkhoy nəsáməknə
     nə́ŋ nə-khoy nə-sá -mək -nə
     you 2P-hpl 2P-body-ONLY-cntr
     you you all yourself

     čə́tləgə məkhoydə háyru
     čə́t-ləgə mə-khoy-tə háy-lu -u
     go -having 3P-hpl -loc say-adir-imp
     having gone to them say
     You yourself go and tell them!   YS245.60b

imperative may subcategorize for a goal instead of an actor. Thus in (9f) there are two arguments, an actor and a theme. In examples like (9g-i), the theta role of argument (which has been omitted from the surface here), is a goal.

(9g)	(9h)	(9i)
pátlu	khəllo	núŋŋayyu
pát -u	khəl-o	núŋ-ŋay -u
ulcer-imp	wise-SOLCT	in -like-imp
May you suffer	I wish you to be	Be happy!
scabies![6] NG83.1	from wise! NG81.7	YS239.50c

M has two other imperative like constructions: supplicatives, with which a speaker urges a course of action where the speaker will be participant (best translated as 'Let us V'; and exhortatives, where the speaker grants permission for some 2nd or 3rd person to carry out some action. First, there is no restriction on the person of the actor argument in such constructions. For example, although supplicatives usually have 1st person plural actor, a first person singular actor is also possible when the construction occurs as an embedded indirect question, with the meaning 'I was wondering whether I should V'.

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[6] The actual gloss provided by NG is, 'You be suffered from scabies!'

(9j)

əmə	čásirə	əni	čásirə	əhum
ə -mə	čá -si -lə	ə -ni	čá -si -lə	ə -hum
att-one	eat-sup-INT	att-two	eat-sup-INT	att-three
one	shall I eat	two	shall I eat	three

čásirə	təretmək	lóynə	čáthokəge
čá -si -lə	təret-mək	lóy-nə	čá -thok-lə -ke
eat-sup-INT	seven-each	all-adv	eat-out -pro-opt
shall I eat	each seven	all	want to eat up

(Saying to himself), "Shall I eat one, shall I eat two, shall I eat three," (he) ate all seven up. KK24

Also, as seen in example (9k), an unspecified second person actor can be urged to allow some action, which is to be performed in conjunction with the speaker, to occur. (9l) is an example of the exhortative construction. In this instance, the argument which occurs with the verb marked by the exhortative is an actor. However, the required argument of an exhortative is not restricted to a single role. It may be an actor as in (9l) or a goal as in (9m).

(9j)		(9k)			
əygə	čə́tsi	əynə	má	phə́msənu	háy
əy-kə	čə́t-si	əy-nə	má	phə́m -sənu	háy -í
I -ass	go -sup	I -CNTR	he	place-exhort	said-nhyp
I too	let's go	I	him	let sit	said
Let's go together!		I told him to sit down.			
HM14.75		HM25.93.2			

(9l) má nʉ́ŋŋaysənu

    má nʉ́ŋ-ŋay -sənu

    he in -like-exhort

    he let be happy

    May he be happy! (Lit. Let him be happy!)   MD256.1

4.1.6 Lack of Passive

There are certain tests for subjecthood which can not be carried out in M. In languages like English, the passive construction singles out the subject for special treatment: the subject of an active sentence appears as an oblique argument in the passive counterpart. Since there is no passive construction in M, this type of singling out of the an argument is not available.[7] In fact, the lack of passive in M can be seen as a consequence of the fact that case is assigned through subcategorization: the semantic roles that verb subcategorizes for are fixed and cannot be manipulated by the syntax. This is a conclusion

---

[7] However, the functional equivalent of a passive construction can be derived through the omission of an actor or agent argument from a clause.

that Kiss (1988:34) arrives at to explain the lack of
passive in Hungarian which she says, "is a natural
consequence of the fact that the target of nominative
assignment is already fixed -- on a thematic basis -- in
the lexicon."

4.1.7 Lack of agreement

Also, a language might exhibit person, number or
gender agreement between the verb and the subject, giving
the subject NP, as opposed to other arguments of V, a
special status. This test for subjecthood is also not
possible in M since there are no person, number or gender
agreement phenomena between the verb and its arguments.

4.1.8 Conclusion

The discussion in this section has been aimed at
illustrating that the arguments of the verb have the same
status. Evidence for this claim has come from the behavior
of arguments in infinitival clauses; omission of arguments
in complements, marking of arguments in nominalization and
the questioning of actor or undergoer position when not in
in-situ position. The distribution of pronominals and
anaphors lent further support that M is structurally
different from languages where principles stated in Binding
theory are applicable.

4.2 Case Marking

Clauses in M are constructed of a verb and its
arguments. I will first describe case marking on core the

arguments that a verb subcategorizes for. Case marking on peripheral arguments is discussed in section 5.7.

A verb may subcategorize for an agent, actor, recipient/goal, patient, or theme. In Table 1, I give a list of these argument types along with a definition of the semantic role indicated by each argument type and the morphological marker which indicates the semantic role. These markers are taken from the nominal inflection paradigm (see Chapter 7).

Table 1: Argument types

agent	instigator of action	-nə
actor	doer of action	-∅
patient	affected by action	-pu
recipient/goal	towards/for whom action is done	-tə
theme	transferred by action	-∅

I will now show that M predicates fall into classes where each class exhibits similar subcategorization frames, requiring arguments with the same thematic roles. This analysis follows the general strategy proposed in Foley and Van Valin (1984)[8], for describing clause structure.

---

[8] Foley and Van Valin base much of their classification on work done by Dowty (1979) who develops a classification of verbs to account for basic aspectual/ modal distinctions made in languages.

Predicates may be distinguished on the basis of whether they are states or non states. State predicates are either equational (be X) or locational (be on X, be at X), and subcategorize for an actor (10a,b) or a goal/recipient (10c).[9]

(10a)

əŋaŋsi   ŋəwre

əŋaŋ -si   ŋəw -lə -e

child -pdet   white-perf-asrt

child   became white

The child became fair.

HM12.109.1,2

(10b)

césidi   ŋə́ppi

cé -si -ti   ŋə́ppi-í

paper-pdet-DLMT rough-NYHP

paper   is rough

This paper is rough.

HM12.111.2,3

(10c) mənóŋdə   əsáwbə   yámnə   lə́y

      mə-nóŋ-tə   ə -sáw -pə   yám -nə lə́y-í

      3P-to -loc att-anger-nom much-adv be -nhyp

      To him there is a lot of anger.

---

classification of verbs to account for basic aspectual/ modal distinctions made in languages.

[9] The actor in these sentences must be definite; they would be ungrammatical if they occured with no marking. Note however that if the subject has a plural or collective interpretation, no marking need appear with the actor.

(i) kwak múy   (ii) cinni thúmmí

    kwak mu   -í   cinni thúm -í

    crow black-nhyp   sugar sweet-nhyp

    Crows are black.   Sugar is sweet.

    HM12.111.5   HM12.111.8

A nonstate verb may describe an activity or the instigation of an activity. Activities may refer to an action where an actor does not have control over the action (laugh, dance, cry); a motional activity (fall); or an activity that is under the control of an actor (kiss, hit, give). Verbs which signal an activity that is not under an actor's control, subcategorize for a single argument, an actor (11a). Motional activities sub-categorize for a single argument, a theme (11b).

```
(11a)                      (11b)
má kə́ppí                  má kəythéldəgi          həlləmmí
má kə́p-í                  má kəy  -thél   -təgi həl    -ləm-í
he cry-nhyp                he grain-display-from return-evd-nhyp
he cried                   he from the market      returned
                           He returned from the market.  Devi91.1
```

Activities where an actor is in control of the action may subcategorize for two or three arguments. Two argument predicates subcategorize for an actor and a patient argument as in (12a,b) or an actor and goal argument as in (12c).

```
(12a) əy part             ləyrughini
      əy part             ləy-lu  -khi        -ni
      I  parts            buy-adir-certainly-cop
      I  spare parts will buy there
      I will buy spare parts there.
```

```
(12b) əy Rambu    núŋši      (12c) əy  Ramdə   núŋši
      əy Ram-pu   núŋš-í            əy  Ram-tə  núŋši-í
      I  Ram-pat  love -nhyp        I   Ram-loc love -nhyp
      I  to Ram   love              I   to Ram  love
      I love Ram.                   I (give) love to Ram.
```

In (12b) the undergoer <u>Ram</u> is acted upon whereas in (12c) <u>Ram</u> is the target of the action. The semantic difference between patient undergoers and goal undergoers is clarified later in this section.

Also note that in (12a) the patient argument 'spare parts' is not marked with the patient marker. This is because the patient marker may occur only with animate arguments. Since neither the actor or the patient marker has any overt marker of grammatical relations in this sentence, how is it clear which argument holds which theta-role? As expressed in the animacy hierarchy given in (13): if the construction has a human and non-human argument then the human argument is the actor; if the arguments are animate non-human and inanimate, then the animate one is the actor.

(13) humans > animate non-human > inanimate

Three argument predicates subcategorize for an actor, patient and recipient/goal. Examples of such verbs are <u>show X to Y</u> or <u>give X to Y</u>.[10]

---

[10] Bhat (as cited in Dixon 1991), notes examples like (i) where the goal (what he call the indirect object) is apparently marked by the patient (what he calls the

(14a)

əynə	Maridə	nupá məcádubu				útpí		
əy-nə	Mari-tə	nupá	mə-cá	-tu	-pu	ú	-pi	-í
I -CNTR	Mary-loc	male	3P-small-ddet-pat			see-rec-nhyp		
I	to Mary	to the small boy				show		

I showed the little boy to Mary.

(14b)

mánə	Tombəbu	Chawbədə	tá?í		
má-nə	Tombə-pu	Chawbə-tə	ták	-í	
he-CNTR	Tomba-pat	Chaoba-loc	point-nhyp		
he	Tomba	to Chaoba	point		

He points out Tomba to Chaoba.   Devi75.11

---

accusative) marker. I can find no examples of this sort in my data. Devi (1979:73) gives the equivalent (ii) with the locative marker.

(i) əynə	mábu	sel	pí	
əy-nə	má-pu	sel	pí	-í
I -cntr	he-pat	money	give-NYHP	
I	to him	money	gave	

I gave him money.

If Bhat is correct, then three argument predicates might subcategorize for an actor, patient (in (i) má will be patient, one who is unwillingly affected by an action) and theme (in (i) sel 'money' will be the theme, the object transferred through an action).

(14c)

```
Tomba  láyriktu     Tombidə   pí
Tomba  láyrik-tu    Tombi-tə  pí  -í
Tomba  book   -ddet Tombi-loc give-nhyp
Tomba  the book      to Tombi gave
Tomba  gave the book to Tombi.
```

The causative form of a verb can be derived through the suffixation of the derivational marker -hən 'causative' to a verb root. Thus oppose čábə 'to eat' with čáhənbə 'cause to eat'. Causative verbs have a unique argument structure: a causative state, causative motion or causative non control verb, subcategorizes for two arguments: an agent and a patient.

```
(15a)  məhaknə      əŋáŋbu    kə́phəllí
       mə-hak -nə   əŋáŋ-pu   kə́p-həl -lə   -í
       3P-here-agn  you -pat  cry-caus-perf-nhyp
       he           to you    cause to cry
       He made the child cry.                       YS1991.9a
```

```
(15b)  əynə   Meribu   nókhəlləmmí
       əy-nə  Meri-pu  nók  -həl -ləm-í
       I -agn Mary-pat laugh-caus-evd-nhyp
       I      Mary     cause to laugh
       I caused Mary to laugh.                       Devi126.3b
```

(15c) Tombənə   məhakpu   cə́thənkhre
       Tombə-nə   mə-hak -pu cə́t-hən -khi -lə -e
       Tomba-agn 3P-here-pat go -caus-still-perf-asrt
       Tomba   to him   already caused to go
       Tomba has already caused him to go.   YS1991.9a

    Two argument causative activity verbs such as <u>cause to</u> <u>kill</u> subcategorizes for an agent, patient and theme. In the case of a verb like <u>cause to kill</u> the three arguments would be: the one who instigates the killing, the one made to carry out the killing and the person effected by the action.[11] (16a) gives an example with an inanimate theme, (16b) with an animate non-human theme, and (16c) with a human theme and as indicated in Table 1, themes are morphologically unmarked for case.

---

    [11] I can find no examples with inanimate causees as in English: <u>I caused the ball to hit the window</u> or <u>I caused</u> <u>the ball to hit John</u>. Such sentences are usually expressed by means of a noncausative construction.

```
(16a)    əynə   Tombəbu     ləybaktə            marbəldu
         əy-nə  Tombə-pu    ləy  -pak  -tə      marbəl-tu
         I-agn  Tomba-pat   land-broad-loc      marble-ddet
         I      Tomba       on the ground       marble

         thádəthəlləmmí
         thá   -thət-həl  -ləm-í
         place-down-caus-evd-nhyp
         caused to drop
         I made Tomba drop the marble on the ground.
```
                                                    Devil14.7b

```
(16b)    əynə   Tombəbu     səgol       tóŋhəlləmmí
         əy-nə  Tombə-pu    sən-kon     tóŋ -həl -ləm-í
         I -agn Tomba-pat   cow-use     ride-caus-evd-nhyp
         I      Tomba       horse       cause to ride
         I made Tomba ride the horse.              Devil18.4b
```

```
(16c)    məpánə              daktərbu    mági
         mə-pá      -nə      daktər-pu   má-ki
         3P-father-agn       docter-pat  he-gen
         father              to docter   his

         məcánupidu              layeŋhəlli
         mə-cá   -nu    -pi -tu  layeŋ-həl -lə  -i
         3P-small-person-fem-ddet teat -caus-perf-nhyp
         to daughter             treated
         His father makes the doctor treat his daughter.
```
                                                    YS1991.10a

If an agent intends to effect an entity by causing
that entity to perform some action, then that entity is a

patient. Thus in a sentence like <u>John caused Harry to kiss Sally</u>, Harry would be a patient. However, the agent might be more concerned about the effect that the instigated action will have on, not the entity who is to carry out the action, but the entity which will undergo a change of state on account of the action. In this case, <u>Harry</u> is only a vehicle through which <u>Sally</u> is acted upon, <u>Harry</u> is a goal/recipient and <u>Sally</u> is a patient.[12] Compare the morphological marking in (16c) with that in (16d):

(16d) məpánə   Tombədə   mági

    mə-pá   -nə Tombə-tə   má-ki

    3P-father-agn Tomba-loc   he-gen

    father   through Tomba his

    məcánupibu   layeŋhəlli

    mə-cá   -nu   -pi -pu layeŋ-həl -lə -i

    3P-small-person-fem-pat treat-caus-perf-nhyp

    to daughter   treated

    Her father$_i$ had Tomba have his$_i$ daughter treated.

                                    YS1991.12

---

[12] This point is also noted in YS (1991:139) and Bhat (1991:132) for Manipuri. Also, the facts presented here are very much in keeping with Cole (1983), where it is shown that for languages like Bolivian Quechua, the marking on the causee is determined on semantic rather than syntactic basis; that is, on the basis of the extent of agency exhibited by the causee rather than the transitivity of the verb.

(16e)　Ramnə　　　Shyamdə　　　lihəlləmmí
　　　　Ram-nə　　　Shyam-tə　　　li　　-həl　-ləm-í
　　　　Ram-agn　　　Shyam-loc　　narrate-caus-evd-nhyp
　　　　Ram　　　　　to Shyam　　　caused to narrate
　　　　Ram had (a story) narrated through Shyam.

<div align="right">Devi122.2b</div>

(16f)　məpánə　　　　　məčádə　　　　láyrik páhəllí
　　　　mə-pá　-nə　　mə-čá　-tə　　láyrik pá　-həl -í
　　　　3P-father-agn　3P-small-loc　book　　read-caus-nhyp
　　　　father　　　　　to son　　　book　　cause to read
　　　　The father had the book read through his son.

<div align="right">HM,p.c.</div>

Three argument activity verbs such as <u>cause to give</u> subcategorize for an agent, patient, theme and goal. In the case of a verb like <u>cause to give</u> the four arguments would be: the one who instigates the giving, the one made to do the giving; the entity transferred, and the person who receives the entity.

(17)　əynə　Rambu　　Shyamdə　　pəysa píhəlləmmí
　　　　əy-nə　Ram-pu　　Shyam-tə　　pəysa pí　-həl　-ləm-í
　　　　I -agn　Ram-pat　Shyam-loc　pəysa give-caus-evd-nhyp
　　　　I　　　Ram　　　to Shyam　　money cause to give
　　　　I made Ram give the money to Shyam.　　　　HM,p.c.

Table 2:   Argument structures of verbs classified according
to states and nonstates

States: equational or locational	be ϕ; or be on X	(actor) or (recipient /goal)
Activities: not under the control of the actor	laugh, dance, cry	(actor)
Activities: motional	fall	(theme)
Activities: under the control of actor (two argument)	build X; kiss X, hit, give.	(actor, goal)
Activities: under the control of actor (three argument)	show X, give X	(actor, patient, recipient/ goal)
Causative state	make X be ϕ	(agent, patient)
Causative nonstate: action not under control of actor; motional	make X ϕ	(agent, patient)

Causative nonstate: action under control of actor (2 arguments)	make X do ϕ to Y	(agent, patient, theme)
Causative nonstate: action under control of actor (3 arguments)	make X ϕ through Y	(agent, goal, patient)

4.3 Information structure

Table 2 summarizes the argument type that each class of verb subcategorizes for and the default morphological marking that appears with these arguments. In signalling pragmatic information the grammatical information encoded by the morphological markers is often obscured: a system of pragmatic marking may delete an existing theta role marker; delete and replace the theta role marker with one of the markers listed in (18); add one of the markers listed in (18) to a theta role marker; and/or change canonical word order. In this section I will identify the formal devices used to indicate the pragmatic value of an argument and define the pragmatic function that arguments might have.

(18) -tu distal
      -si proximate
      -nə contrastive
      -tə́ exclusive
      -ti delimitative
      -pu adversative

4.3.1 Contrastiveness

An NP may receive contrastive focus; three types of contrastiveness can be indicated depending on if the contrastive enclitic -nə,[13] the delimitative enclitic -ti or the exclusive enclitic -tə́ are used. The following sentences contrast an unmarked actor argument with actors marked by one of these three markers. Note that although the unmarked əy does not contribute additional pragmatic

---

[13] Although the agentive and contrastive markers are homophonous they are distinct: the agentive marker does not add contrastive meaning and it is always present with agents of causative constructions whereas the contrastive marker is optional and always adds pragmatic information. The causative marker may occur only once in a sentence whereas the contrastive may occur on more than one argument:

(i) əynə   məčunə   ólli
     əy-nə   məču -nə ól   -i
     I -CNTR color-CNTR change-nhyp
     I   color   change
     It is I who changed the color (but not the design).
                                            BN3.32.3b

information, <u>əydi</u> opposes the actor's action with possible action of others; <u>əynə</u> indicates that out a group of people no one else but the actor is a candidate in doing V; and <u>əydə́</u> indicates that although others might do V, they are not, (only the actor is doing V). See section 7.3 for a further discussion of these enclitics.

(19a) əy cə́tkəni

        əy cə́t-kə -ni

        I   go -pot-COP

        I   will go

        (Used for example, as a reply to a inquiry about who wants to particpate in an outing) I'll go.

                                            HM14.75

(19b) əynə cə́tkəni. 'It's going to be I who goes (and not all the others).   HM14.75

(19c) əydi   cə́tkəni

        I'm going (in spite of the fact that you won't accompany me).   HM14.75

(19d)   əydə́   Rambu   nuŋší

        əy-tə́   Ram-pu nuŋši-í

        I -EX   Ram-pat love -nhyp

        I   Ram   love

        Only I love Ram (the others do not love him).

Since the enclitics exemplified in (19b-d) are not theta role markers, they can occur on arguments other than actors. Thus a patient argument, whose theta-role is indicated by the marker <u>-pu</u>, may be marked by a pragmatic information marker:

```
(20)  əybunə         Ramnə      núŋširəbədi  phə́gədəwni
      əy-pu -nə      Ram-nə     núŋši-ləbədi phə́ -kə -təw-ni
      I -pat-CNTR    Ram-CNTR   love -if     good-pot-do -COP
      I              Ram        if love      would be good
      If Ram (not Choaba) loved me (and not Sita) it
      would be good.
```

Additionally, it is also possible for the patient maker to be omitted. This is the case in (21) where the only morphological marking to appear on arguments are pragmatic markers.

```
(21a)  əynə       Ramdə́      núŋší
       əy-nə      Ram-tə́     núŋš-í
       I -CNTR    Ram-EX      love-nhyp
       I          only Ram    love
       I (as opposed to you) love only Ram.
```

```
(21b)  əydi    Ramnə      núŋší
       əy-ti   Ram-nə     núŋši-í
       I -DLMT Ram-CNTR   love -nhyp
       I       Ram        love
       Ram loves me (over all possibilities).
```

```
(21c)  əŋáŋdi       Tombədə́    phúy
       əŋáŋ -ti     Tombə -tə́  phú -í
       child -DLMT  Tomba -EX   beat-nhyp
       child        Tomba       beat
       This child (over all others), beat Tomba (whereas I
       beat Ram and you beat Chaoba).
```

(21d) əydə   Ramsi   núŋší

      əy-tə   Ram-si   núŋši-í

      I -EX   Ram-pdet love -nhyp

      I   this Ram love

      I am the only one who loves this guy Ram.

4.3.2 Definiteness

When the speaker assumes that the referent of an argument can be identified by the listener, the argument may be definite. Definiteness is indicated by either the proximate or distal determiner. In (22a,b), the actor is definite; in (22c,d) the patient is definite.[14]

(22a) Tombədu   láyriktu   Tombidə píde

      Tombə-tu   láyrik-tu   Tombi-tə pí -tə -e

      Tomba-ddet book   -ddet Tombi-loc give-neg-asrt

      That Tomba that book   to Tombi did not give

      Tomba did not give the book to Tombi.   PR1

---

[14] Note that the first person pronoun əy cannot occur with the distal determiner. From a pragmatic point of view the reason for this is obvious: it is impossible for a speaker to be distanced from himself/herself.

```
(22b)                              (22c)
əy Ramsi     núŋšíne               əysi    Ramnə   núŋší
əy Ram-si    núŋsi-ne              əy-si   Ram -nə núŋši-í
I  Ram-pdet  love -SI              I -pdet Ram-CNTR love -nhyp
I  this Ram  love                  I       Ram       love
You know, I love this guy,         This gal is loved by Ram
Ram.                               (not by Tomba or Chaoba).
```

```
(22d) Jonnə       Tombədu      phurəmmí
      Jon -nə      Tomba-tu     phu -ləm-í
      John-CNTR   Tomba-ddet   beat-evd-nhyp
      John        that Tomba   seems to have beaten
      It is John who beat Tomba.
```

Furthermore, it is possible for a contrastive or delimitative marker to co-occur with a marker of definiteness. For example in (23a,b), the speaker is viewing an array of pictures, and points to a picture of Ram and says that he/she loves this Ram and no other.

```
(23a) əydi      Ramsinə          núŋší
      əy-ti     Ram-si  -nə      núŋsi-í
      I -DLMT   Ram-pdet-CNTR    love -nhyp
      I         this Ram         love
      (Out of all of you) I (am the one who) loves this
      Ram.
```

(23b) əysi   Ramsinə   núŋ̌í
      əy-si   Ram-si -nə   núŋ̌i-í
      I -pdet Ram-pdet-CNTR   love -nhyp
      I   this Ram   love
      This gal loves this guy Ram (not Chaoba or Tomba).

4.3.3 The adversative marker -pu

The adversative marker, homonymous with the patient marker, signals that the -pu marked NP is ill-fated in being acted upon or that the V is unexpected, unanticipated, or unfortunate. Thus in (24a), if I were expected to row a boat, I could answer that contrary to the requester's information, I did not know how to row a boat.

(24a) əybu   hí   hónbə   hə́ytene
      əy-pu hí   hón-pə   hə́y   -tə -e   -ne
      I -pat boat row-nom proficient-neg-asrt-SI
      I   boat to row   am not proficient
      (But unfortunately), I don't know how to row boats.

(24b) əybu   Ramsi   núŋ̌ine   kəmdəwsige
      əy-pu Ram-si   núŋ̌i-ne   kəmdəw-si   hə́y-ke
      I-pat Ram-pdet love-SI   how   -pdet say-opt
      I   this Ram love   how this want to say
      (Woe to me that) I love Ram, how can I want this!

```
(24c) əynəbu        Ramsi     núŋširəbədi  phə́gədəwni
      əy-nə   -pu   Ram-si    núŋši-ləbədi phə́ -kə -təw-ni
      I -CNTR-ADVR  Ram-pdet  love    -if  good-pot-do -COP
      I             this Ram if love        it would be good
      (If only) I loved Ram, that would be convenient.
```

I am claiming that in (24) -pu is not the patient case
marker. Of course, there are languages where both the case
or theta-role and the pragmatic value of an argument is
signalled by the same marker (for example, the Japanese
accusative doubles up as an emphatic marker (Bloch (1969:
52)). Although it is most probably the case in M that the
adversative marker -pu is derived from the patient marker
-pu, there are two pieces of evidence that in the
synchronic grammar these are two distinct homophonous
markers. First, adversative -pu may be suffixed to a
nonpatient NP as in (24a-c) above; second, -pu can occur
twice in an NP, once as the patient marker, and once as the
relator of pragmatic information, as in (24d).[15]

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[15] Like other markers of this category, adversative -pu
can function as a clausal subordinator and here it conveys
the meaning 'even S', 'in spite of S'.

```
(i)   məkhoy  púmnəməknə     páybəbu
      mə -khoy púmnə-mək -nə  páy -pə -pu
      3PP-pl   all   -EACH-adv hold-nom-ADVR
      they     each one       even having held

      thə́ŋgətbə     ŋə́mde
      thə́ŋ-khət-pə  ŋə́m -tə -e
      lift-up  -nom able-neg-asrt
```

(24d) əybunəbu   Seŋmay câtlu háy
       əy-bu -nə -bu   Seŋmay câtu háy-î
       I -pat-CNTR-ADVR   Seŋmay go-imp say-nhyp
       I   Seŋmay go!   said
       (Too bad), he ordered me (not you) to go to
       Sheŋmay.   Pt.15.2

Similarly, the adversative marker may be suffixed to peripheral arguments that are already case marked. Thus in (24e), adversative -pu occurs with the genitive marker, in (24f) with the locative marker and in (24g) with the associative marker. Case marking with non-peripheral arguments is described in section 5.7.

(24e) məŋondəbu   kənanə   kəri háygəni
       mə-ŋon-tə -pu   kəna-nə   kəri háy-kə -ni
       3P-to -loc-ADVR   who -CNTR what say-pot-COP
       to him   who   what will say
       'To him, who will say what?' (implies that nobody
       will say anything to him)   BN3.34.4b

(24f) mágibu   soydərəbədi   phâre
       má-ki -pu   soy   -tə -ləbədi phâ -lə -e
       he-gen-ADVR mistake-neg-if   good-perf-asrt
       for him   if not wrong   will be good
       'With him, if nothing goes wrong it is good (implies
       that something will probably go wrong with him) BN3.34.7a

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       to lift up   not able
       Even though they all took hold of it, they were not
       able to lift it.   Pr.46.18

(24g) mágəbu   kənanə   cə́tkəni
      má-kə -pu   kəna-nə   cə́t-kə -ni
      he-pot-ADVR   who-CNTR   go -pot-COP
      with him   who   will go
      'With him, who would like to go (implies that no one
      wants to go with him)?'   BN3.34.6b

4.3.4 Word order

Word order also encodes pragmatic information in M.
Two common generalizations made about this in M grammar is
that (1) the order of arguments is free but restricted to
preverbal position and (2) canonical word order places the
actor in sentence initial position followed by patient and
goal and these arguments must be marked by grammatical
markers to allow for any permutation in word order (see
Bhat 1991, for example). Neither of these generalizations
is totally accurate.

First, note that arguments may be moved to post-
verbal position (reminiscent of right dislocation in
French) in order to reintroduce given information that has
not been talked about for a while. This is illustrated in
(25a) (see also example 155 in Chapter 6).

(25a) háybədəy   kə́ppe   Səkuntəlase
      háy-pə-təgi   kə́p-e   Sakuntala-si
      say-nom-abl   cry-asrt Sakuntala-pdet
      from that   cried   this Shakuntala
      From that (she) started crying, that Shakuntala.
                                                Shakun

Second, a claim has been made that M, "makes use of the relative order of arguments...for encoding both semantic as well as pragmatic relations" (Bhat, 1991: 130). Evidence used to support this claim is that (1) Actor-Patient-Verb order can only be manipulated if at least one argument carries grammatical marking and that (2) in the absence of marking, the sentence initial argument is identified as the actor. Both these points have been contradicted through examples provided earlier in this chapter, additional examples, (25b) and (25c) below, show that even when grammatical markers are not present to indicate the theta role of arguments, the order of these arguments can be manipulated. Furthermore, in (25c) by one interpretation the initial argument is actor and by a second possible interpretation the initial argument is patient.

(25b) hə́nləkəgə   notkadu   əy
      hə́n -lək   -ləgə nct -ka   -tu əy
      return-dsource-after note-attend-ddet I
      having returned   the notes   I

      singebə
      sin -ke   háy-pə
      copy-opt say-nom
      will copy that
      that will copy
      When I return, I will copy the notes.   RFC15

```
(25c) əŋáŋdi        Tombəsinə        phúy
      əŋáŋ-ti       Tombə-si  -nə    phú -í
      child -DLMT   Tomba-pdet-CNTR  beat-nhyp
      child         Tomba            beat
```
This Tomba (out of all the others) beats children.
This child beats this Tomba (and no one else).

Finally, Bhat (1991: 132), provides sentences like (25d,e) and correctly notes that the initial argument in such sentences is interpreted as actor.

```
(25d) əy má úy       (25e) má əy úy
      I he saw             he I  saw
      I saw him.           He saw me.      Bhat1991.65a,b
```

In fact such sentences, in order to be grammatical, must be accompanied by additional stress on the initial argument. Stress (often followed by a pause), combined with sentence initial position serve to indicate new information. Thus (25f) would be an appropriate answer to the question 'Who does Ram (as opposed to Chaoba) love?'

```
(25f)  əybu   Ramnə   núŋší
       əy-pu  Ram-nə  núŋši-í
       I -pat Ram-CNTR love -nhyp
       I      Ram      love
```
It is me that Ram (as opposed to Chaoba) loves.

Thus the accordance of actor status to initial position is more a factor of the pragmatic value, derived from a combination of stress, the marked lack of overt pragmatic marking and initial position, than to the grammaticization

of initial position with the theta role of actor. A further step in researching this aspect of M pragmatics would be to manipulate stress in sentences such as (25d,e) to see if a shift of stress, changes the grammatical value of the initial argument. My impression is, and the analysis that I provide here predicts that, it would; however, I have yet to carry out such a test.

4.3.5 Restriction on pragmatic marking

In this section, I will outline the restriction placed on pragmatic marking. First, grammatical marking can be freely manipulated by the pragmatic marking system with all predicate types. Since theta roles are not always indicated on arguments, the interpretation of sentences can be ambiguous. I will provide illustrative examples of these ambiguities. Finally, I will show what restrictions there are on the co-occurrence of pragmatic markers on arguments.

There are no restrictions on how grammatical marking on arguments of a predicate may be manipulated as a way of packaging pragmatic information with respect to the verb class of a particular predicate. Examples of both state and two argument predicates where grammatical marking on arguments has been manipulated by the pragmatic marking system can be seen in examples (19-25). Similar examples with three argument predicates and causative constructions are given below.

4.3.5.1 Three argument predicates

Just as with two argument predicates, the arguments of three argument predicates may occur without grammatical marking. Note again that there is no preferential matching of pragmatic maker with theta-role: in (26a) the argument marked with -ti is the goal; in (26b) the argument marked with -ti is the actor.

(26a)

Tombədi	láyriktu	nupásinə	píremmí
Tombə-ti	láyrik-tu	nupá-si -nə	pí -ləm-í
Tomba-DLMT	book -ddet	male-pdet-CNTR	give-evd-nhyp
Tomba	the book	the man	gave

The man gives the book to Tomba.

(26b)

Tombədi	láyriktu	Tombisinə
Tombə-ti	láyrik-tu	Tombi-si -nə
Tomba-DLMT	book -ddet	Tomba-pdet-CNTR
Tomba	the book	this Tomba

píkhrəbədi	yáy
pí -khi -ləbədi	yá -í
give-still-if	agree-nhyp
if give	agree

Tomba (opposed to the rest), has no objection to giving this Tombi the book.

Note that with three argument predicates, when there are two human arguments, there must be either grammatical or overt pragmatic marking on at least one of the arguments. Thus if Tombi were not marked by -tə, (26c) and

(26d) would be ungrammatical.

(26c) Ramnə   Sitadə   láy   thárəmmí

Ram-nə   Sita-tə   láy   thá -ləm-í

Ram-CNTR   Sita-loc   flower send-evd-nhyp

Ram   to Sita   flower sent

Ram sent the flowers to Sita.   PR1

(26d) Tomba láyriktu   Tombidə   pí[16]

Tomba láyrik-tu   Tombi-tə   pí -í

Tomba book   -ddet Tombi-loc   give-nhyp

Tomba the book   to Tombi   gave

Tomba gave the book to Tombi.   HM.T26B

Such a restriction cannot be motivated for a grammatical marking system, but is well motivated when viewed in terms of interpretation.   To facilitate interpretation, the pragmatics requires a minimum amount of information to differentiate the status of arguments.

4.3.5.2 Causatives

Agent marking cannot be manipulated by the pragmatic marking system, an agent will always occur with its theta role marker.   Recall that causatives of states subcategorize for an agent and patient.   In (27a), the pragmatic marking system has deleted the patient marker on

---

[16] For some reason, this sentence is not possible with the verb *pírəmmi* which is composed of *pí* 'give' *-ləm* the indirect evidential marker and *-í* the nonhypothetical marker.

<u>əŋáŋ</u> 'child' which occurs with the distal determiner.

(27a) Cawbənə   əŋáŋdu   ŋəwhəlllənmí
     Chaoba-nə əŋáŋ -tu   ŋəw -həl -ləm-í
     Chaoba-agn child -ddet white-caus-evd-nhyp
     Chaoba   the child   caused to become white
     Chaoba caused that child to appear fair (by applying
     powder).   Devil29.2b

    In two argument causative activity verbs, the arguments subcategorized for are agent, patient and theme. The patient may loose its grammatical marker: thus in (27b), the patient is marked by the proximate determiner <u>-si</u>.

(27b)
Tombəsi   láyriktu   nupadunə   páhəllənmi
Tombə-si   láyrik-tu   nupa-tu -nə   pá -həl -ləm-í
Tomba-pdet book -ddet make-ddet-agn read-caus-evd-HNYP
this Tomba the book   the man   made to read
The man made Tomba here read the book.

    Finally in three argument causative constructions, where the verb subcategorizes for an agent, patient, theme and goal, it is possible that neither the patient nor the goal is specified for a semantic role: in (27c) for example, the causee and the recipient may be marked with the distal and proximal determiners respectively. In these cases it is understood that one argument has been omitted and that the theta role of this argument is agent (since agent marking cannot be manipulated by the pragmatic marking system, it would occur on the argument had the

argument not been deleted).

(27d) Tombəsi   láyriktu   nupádu
      Tombə-si   láyrik-tu   nu   -pá   -tu
      Tomba-pdet book   -ddet person-male-ddet
      This Tomba that book   that man

      pihəlləmmí
      pí   -həl -ləm-í
      give-caus-evd-nhyp
      caused to give
      The man was made to give the book to Tomba.

4.3.6 Ambiguity

Given the overlay of the pragmatic marking system on
the grammatical marking system, it may not always be clear
what the theta-role of an argument is. Potential
ambiguities are resolved through the animacy hierarchy
given in (13) above. Thus, following the generalization
made in this hierarchy, əɲáŋ in (28a) is interpreted as the
actor. Of course, (28a) is ontologically odd but it is
grammatical.

(28a) əɲáŋ   huy čí?í
      əɲáŋ   huy čík -í
      child dog bite-nhyp
      The child bit the dog.

However, when there are two human arguments,
ambiguities can result. In (28b) either argument may be
actor; in (28c) either human argument may be agent (due to

the homophony between the contrastive and agent markers).

(28b) əydi Ram núŋší 'Ram loves me (over all others).'
       'I (over all others) love Ram.'
       (see (21) for gloss)

(28c) nupidunə   nupádunə   ŋádu
   nupi -du -nə nupá-tu -nə ŋá -tu
   female-ddet-CNTR man -ddet-CNTR fish-ddet
   that man   that woman   that fish

   phághəlləmmí
   phá -həl -ləm-í
   catch-caus-evd-nhyp
   cause to catch
   The woman caused the man to catch the fish.
   The man caused the woman to catch the fish.
              HM24.144.7a

Note that word order does not force one interpretation over another. As noted above, it is not the case that one pragmatic marker rather than another is preferentially associated with a particular theta role. For example, the contrastive marker in (29a) occurs on an actor whereas the contrastive marker in (29b) occurs on a patient.

(29a) əydi Ramnə núŋší 'Ram loves me (over all possibilities).

(29b) əydi Ramnə núŋší 'It is Ram (not Chaoba) that I (over all of you) love.' See (21b) for gloss.

Without further clues from the discourse, it is not possible to tell what the theta role of arguments is in sentences like (28a-29b).

Furthermore, ambiguity may arise from the homophony of the contrastive and agentive markers. For example, since arguments may be freely dropped, it is unclear if the agent or recipient has been omitted in (30), so that Tomba may be the causee or the agent as reflected in (i) and (ii).

(30)

Tombaduna	láyriktu	nupáse	púhəllî
Tomba-tu -nə	láyrik-tu	nupá-si	pú -həl -î
Tomba-ddet-agn	book -ddet	male-pdet	carry-caus-nhyp
That Tomba	that book	to the man	cause to give

(i)   If -nə is the agentive marker the interpretation is: 'Tomba caused the book to be given to the man (through somebody)'.

(ii)   If -nə is the contrastive marker the interpretation is: '(Someone) caused the man to give the book to Tomba.

4.3.7 Co-occurrence restrictions on pragmatic markers

Theoretically it should be possible for an actor to be marked by the adversative and co-occur either with a patient or locative marked argument. However, such a pattern of marking is not possible since, presumably, the homophony between the patient marker and the adversative marker make it impossible to get the adversative reading in

sentences such as (31a).

(31a) *əybu ramdə núŋší

      The only other restriction on marking concerns interpretability in the discourse context. Thus, although arguments may be marked by the same marker as in (31b,c), there must be something in the discourse to indicate the theta role of the arguments.

(31b)

Tombədi	láyriktu		Tombidi	pí	
Tombə-ti	láyrik-tu		Tombi-ti	pí	-í
Tomba-DLMT	book	-ddet	Tombi-DLMT	give-nhyp	
Tomba	the book		Tombi	gave	

He gave the book to Tombi (but not to me).

(31c)

Tombədunə		láyriktu	nupádunə		pírəmmí	
Tombə-tu	-nə	láyrik-tu	nupá-tu	-nə	pí	-ləm-í
Tomba-ddet-CNTR	book	-ddet	boy	-ddet-CNTR	give-evd-NHYP	
Tomba		the book	the boy		gave	

The man gave the book to Tomba.

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4.4 Volitionality

The important distinction between the agentive -nə, which does mark case, and the homophonous contrastive marker -nə is ignored by D.N.S. Bhat (1991), an influential writer on Manipuri grammar. Although he was the first to note that a difference in meaning is obtained with the use of -nə in noncausative constructions (Bhat and Ningomba, 1986b), he did not find it significant that this meaning difference is not present with the agentive marker -nə which marks agent in causative constructions or that the contrastive -nə can be used on non-actor arguments. His analysis of the case system of M is based on the premise that there is a single -nə, which he calls the nominative marker. Bhat concludes that -nə marked actors in M are those that indicate volition on the part of the actor. However, this conclusion is clearly incorrect since it is easy to find sentences with -nə marked actors where no possible interpretation would allow for volition of the part of the actor. For example, in (32a), the -nə marked actor refers to a hapless daughter-in-law drowning (quite unintentionally) in a pond. It is also possible to find sentences where the subject does exercise control over an activity but is not marked by -nə (see (26d) above).

(32a) mənəw   nupinə   pukhridə
        mə -nəw nu   -pi -nə pukhri-tə
        nm-new   person-fem-foc pond -loc
        daughter-in-law   in the pond

        iraknərəgə   mətəynə   únəúnə
        i   -lak -nə -ləgə mətəy -nə   ú -nə ú -nə
        water-come-adv-after b.-in-law-inst see-adv see-adv
        while drowning   brother-in-law upon seeing

        upay   ləytənə   yéŋdúnə   ləy
        upay   ləy-tə -nə   yéŋ-túnə   ləy-í
        means   be -neg-adv   see -ing   be -nhyp
        means   not having   see   is

        'While the sister-in-law was drowning with only the
        brother-in-law to see it, there would be no means for
        her to be saved (since he could not touch her).'
                                         SOYBə2

It is true that the use of _-nə_ sometimes adds a meaning of volitionality. So compare (32b) and (32c).

(32b) ləykondu   khoymúsiŋnə   píkthəʔe
        ləy -kon -tu   khoy-mú -siŋ-nə   pík -thək-e
        flower-nest-ddet bee -black-pl-CNTR swarm-up -asrt
        the flower   the bees   swarmed
        It is bees that are swarming in the garden.

```
(32c) lэ́ykondu          khoymúsiŋdu          payre
      lэ́y   -kon -tu    khoy-mú   -siŋ-tu    pay-lэ  -e
      flower-nest-ddet  bee -black-pl -ddet  fly-prox-asrt
      that garden       those bees           flying here
      The garden is swarming with bees.
```

However, the meaning of volitionality would also be obtained by suffixing the delimitative marker -ti to khoymusin 'bees' in (32b). In this case the gloss would be '(Over other possibilities like ants etc.), it is bees that are swarming in the garden.' Thus it is not a particular characteristic of -nэ which provides the meaning of volitionality.

4.5 Case marking on peripheral NPs

NPs that are not needed to fulfill the argument structure of a verb, may appear with one of the following case markers: locative -tэ; instrumental -nэ, associative -kэ and ablative -tэgi. In this section, I will provide a description and exemplification of these case markers.

4.5.1 Locative case

The locative marker may be used to express direction, quantity, or duration of time.

```
(33a) thá    эmэdэ            (33b) 51% khэktэ
      thá    э  -mэ -tэ             51% khэk-tэ
      month att-one month           51% upto-loc
      for one month RSS25            up to 51%
```

(33c) yúmdə   mí   məri ləy
      yúm -tə mí   məri ləy-í
      house-loc men   four be -nhyp
      house-loc people four be
      Four people live in this house.   PR1

(33d) kuŋətərettə   thókləkəni
      kun   -təret-tə   thók-lək   -lə -ni
      twenty-seven-loc   out -dsource-adir-COP
      on the 27th   will come out
      will return on the 27th   RSS41

4.5.2   Ablative case

The ablative marker is used to express direction of
movement from point A to point B.

(34a) mánə   Nuyyarktəgi Jaipurdə   cətkhi
      má-nə   Nuyyark -təgi Jaipur-tə cət-khi -í
      he-CNTR New York-ablt Jaipur-loc go -still-nhyp
      he   from New York to Jaipur already went
      He went from New York to Jaipur.

The ablative may also indicate the source of transfer
of material objects or ideas.

(34b) əynə   mási   Bildəgi   táre
      əy-nə   má-si   Bil-təgi   tá -lə -e
      I -CNTR he-pdet Bill-abl   hear-perf-asrt
      I   it   from Bill heard
      I heard it from Bill.   PR, p.c.

(34c)

Jonnə   ókəmə   Bildəgi   ləyrəkləmmí
Jon -nə   ók -ə -mə Bill-təgi ləy-lək   -ləm-í
John-CNTR pig-att-one Bill-abl buy-distal-evd-nhyp
John   a pig   from Bill seems to have bought
It seems that John bought a pig from Bill.   PR, p.c.

4.5.3   Genitive case

The genitive case is used to indicate possession.
Note that it is the possessor and not the thing possessed
that is marked.

(35a) məsi   əygi yúmni
      mə-si   əy-ki yúm-ni
      nm-pdet I-gen house-COP
      This is my house.   HM25.18j

The genitive may also serve to indicate what NP the
action in the predicate pertains to or is done for or
about.

(35b) məsigi   yúmsi   əygini
      mə-si-ki   yúm-si   əy-ki -ni
      nm-pdet-gen house-pdet I -gen-COP
      of this   this house is mine
      About this this house is mine.   HM25.18k

(35c) əɲáŋgisi   sidə   thə́mge
      əɲáŋ -ki -si   si -tə   thə́m-ke
      child-gen-pdet pdet-loc   put -opt
      for this child here will keep
      I will keep the food for the child here. HM25.27.1a

(35d) əygi   cák   cánu   háy
      əy-ki   cák   cá -nu   háy-í
      I -gen rice   eat-probh say-nhyp
      for me food   don't eat said
      Someone said for me not to eat rice.   HM25.88.6

Note that an NP marked by the genitive case may be
further marked by the locative or the associative.   In
these instances, the meaning of the case markers is
compositional.

(35e) mígigə   əygigə   mánətte
      mí -ki -kə   əy-ki -kə   mán -nətte
      man-gen-ass   I -gen-ass   agree-not
      There are differences in opinion of these men and
      myself.   HM25.28e

(35f) əykhoy ŋəraŋ   Tombəgidə   cə́tləmmí
      əy-khoy ŋəraŋ   Tombə-ki -tə   cə́t-ləm-í
      I -pl   yesterday Tomba-gen-loc   go -evd-nhyp
      we   yesterday to Tomba's   went
      Yesterday we went to Tomba's (house).   HM25.35.3

4.5.4   Associative case

The associative marker is used to indicate that the action has been performed in conjunction with another person. Either one or both members of the conjunct may be marked by the associative case marker.

(36a) Ramga   Sitaga   khə́tnərəmmí
      Ram-ga   Sita-ga   khə́t -nə   -ləm-í
      Ram-ass   Sita-ass   fight-recip-evd-nhyp
      Ram with Sita with fought with each other
      Ram and Sita fought each other.

(36b) məhak   Tombagə   skul   cə́tkhəre
      mə-hak   Tomba-gə   skul   cə́t-khi -lə -e
      3P-here   Tomba-ass   school   go -still-perf-asrt
      he   with Tomba school   already went
      He has gone to school with Tomba.   YS27.29a

4.5.5   Instrumental case

The instrumental marker marks the NP with (37a) or through which (37b, c) some action is performed.

(37a) əynə   tháŋəmənə   hə́ydu   kháy
      əy-nə   tháŋ -ə -mə -nə   hə́y -tu   kháy-í
      I -CNTR knife-att-one-inst fruit-ddet cut -nhyp
      I   with a knife   that fruit cut
      I cut the fruit with a knife.

(37b) cithise   məkhutnə   pírəmmu
      cithi -si   mə -khut-nə   pí   -ləm-u
      letter-pdet   nm -hand-inst   give-evd-imp
      this letter   by hand   must give
      Hand deliver this letter...   LAYBəK23

(37c) Question: Answer:
      kərinə   eroplennə
      kəri-nə   eroplen -nə
      what-inst   aeroplane-inst
      By what means (did you   By aeroplane.
      travel here)?   RSS76

4.6 Case on pronouns

There are two postpositions which occur with singular
pronouns: these are -hak 'at' and -nóndə 'to'.   -hak
refers to an actor who is near the place of speech; -nóndə
refers to a locative-goal who is distant from the place of
speech or the source of action.

The probable source for nón is what DeLancey (1984:62)
calls a locative noun. He notes that locative nouns often
function as dative or locative postpositions, for example,
naŋ 'interior' in Tibetan, is used to mean 'inside'. This
Tibetan form, naŋ, as well as cognates in Hayu noŋ
'locative' and Nocte naŋ 'locative, dative/ accusative' are
obviously cognate with M -nóndə which is most likely a
lexicalization of a locative noun -nón and the locative
marker -tə.   The origin of -hak might be hak which is a
productive stem in M meaning 'body' as in hakthəŋ
'confidant' where hak is compounded with the stem thəŋ

'near'.

-hak or -nónda may be used with the first person singular pronoun to indicate the position of the speaker with regard to his/her interlocutors: when -hak is used the speaker is pointing out the inclusion of self in current activity; when -nónda is used the speaker indicates that he/she is undergoing some action that is not under his/her control.

(38a) əyhak   čə́tkhrege
       əy-hak čə́t-khi -lə -e   háy-ke
       I -here go -still-perf-asrt say-opt
       I   want to be gone
       I will go now (lit: I want to say, I am gone).

<div align="right">GR12.15</div>

(38b) láyriktu   əyŋónda   píramde
       láyrik-tu   əy-ŋón-tə pí -ləm-tə -e
       book -ddet I -to -loc give-evd-neg-asrt
       the book to me not give
       The book was not given to me.   HM18.39.2

-hak is commonly omitted in casual speech styles but is used in the written language and in more formal speech styles (PR1989:22). The forms əyhak, nəhak, and məhak are considered "more polite" probably since they are associated with written and formal speech styles, than the bare pronoun. According to Promodini Devi, it is possible for a speaker to utilize the choice between a bare pronoun form and a pronoun marked with -hak, reflecting a semantics for pronouns much like that described for French, German and Italian in Brown and Gilman (1960). For example, nəhak may

be used to indicate the speaker's respect or social distance with the addressee whereas nén may be used to indicate the speaker's disrespect or intimacy with the addressee.[17]

4.7 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have shown that M exhibits a flat phrase structure. The grammatical status of the arguments that a predicate subcategorizes for is indicated through morphological semantic or theta-role markers. These markers can be manipulated through a system of pragmatic marking. In the default case the correct interpretation of the status of arguments in a M sentence can be read off of theta role markers and the observance of an animacy hierarchy. However, since the pragmatics can delete and/or replace these markers, interpretation involves a knowledge of the pragmatic marking system (meaning of overt pragmatic markers, conditions under which theta-role markers can be deleted, word order and stress). To some extent the pragmatic system makes recovery of grammatical relations difficult so that sentences may often have more than one interpretation. In these cases the larger discourse context must be used to recover the intended meaning.

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[17] This accounts for why -hak is often described as an honorific or a marker of respect (Yashwanta Singh (1984), and Madhubala Devi (1979) among others). However, I do not adopt this analysis since -hak also occurs with the first person pronoun.

Chapter 5

5 Root sentences

In Chapter 4, it was shown how the grammatical role of an NP is signalled in M. Chapters 5 and 6 complete the description of M syntax: Chapter 5 describes the various sentence types within which NPs occur; Chapter 6 looks at patterns of subordination in M.

Basic sentence types in M are determined through illocutionary mode markers, all of which are verbal inflectional markers, (with the exception of the interrogative marker which is an enclitic, see section 7.3 for further discussion). The verb markers and the sentence types which they signal are listed in Table 1.

Table 1: Sentence Types in M

Sentence type	Morpheme	morpheme gloss
declarative	-i	'nonhypothetical'
	-e	'assertive'
imperative	-u	'imperative'
prohibitive	-nu	'prohibitive'
optative	-ke	'optative'
supplicative	-si	'supplicative'
exhortative	-sənu	'exhortative'
interrogative	-lə	'interrogative'

A declarative sentence makes a statement or assertion. An imperative sentence issues a command to perform an action; a prohibitive sentence is used to forbid the

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performance of an action. The optative is used to express a desire or intention. The supplicative is used to urge an action in which the speaker will participate. The exhortative is used to grant permission for some action to be performed. Finally, the interrogative is used to elicit information. The use of these sentence types to perform speech acts other than the ones listed here is discussed in section 11.1.

All sentences, except for question word questions described in section 5.6.4, end with one of these mode markers which may or may not be followed by an enclitic (see section 7.3). This chapter illustrates the signalling of sentence types through the morphology indicated above and the prevalent syntactic and functional characteristics of each sentence type.

5.1 Declarative

Word order for the declarative is the same for all sentence types (see phrase structure rules in Chapter 3). Declarative sentences can be characterized as those which are marked either by the nonhypothetical suffix -i or the assertive suffix -e.

A pragmatically neutral sentence is marked by the nonhypothetical marker -i which indicates a mild assertion; the speaker does not support the statement by providing evidence for it, but simply presents it as fact. The nonhypothetical declarative has a perfect or imperfective aspectual reference since an action so encoded refers to either a habitual or constant truth (as in (1a,b)) or to a

past action which has some current relevance (as in (1c,d)).

(1a) əy čák čáy   (1b) ətər gulab phə́zə́y
      əy čák čá -í   ətər gulab phə́ -čə   -í
      I rice eat-nhyp   ətər gulab good-self-nhyp
      I rice eat   rose   is good
      I eat rice.   Roses are beautiful.
      PrB35   HM12.84

(1c) məhak   əpəl   čárəmmí
      mə-hak   əpəl   čá-ləm -í
      3P-here apple eat-evd-nhyp
      he   apple ate
      He just ate an apple.   Prb.88

(1d) Ramnə   Ravanbu   hatkhirəmmí
      Ram-nə   Ravan-pu   hat -khi -ləm-í
      Ram-CNTR Ravan-pat kill-still-evd-nhyp
      Ram   Ravan   killed
      Ram killed Ravan.   HM25.110.7

A declarative assertive sentence, which signals a strong assertion, is created through the suffixation of the assertive marker -e. Declarative assertives have a perfective reference. Example (2) illustrates the difference between the nonhypothetical and assertive declaratives. Compare the first and second response given by Rajan to a question by RSS about whether or not the woman they are talking about has been studying diligently for her examination: in the first response Rajan uses a nonhypothetical declarative to indicate that she is a hard

worker (this is a continuing state); in the second attempt to get his point across, Rajan uses the assertive declarative, directing attention to a single display of hard work in the past (this is a completed action which does not have relevance currently).

(2)   Rajan: təwwí

                      təw-í

                      do -nhyp

                      does

                      (She) does.

        RSS: ha

                      ha

                      intj

                      what's that

                      Really?

        Rajan: təwwe ·

                      təw-e

                      do -asrt

                      does

                      (Yes, she) has.   RSS51-53

5.2 Optative

An optative clause, which expresses the speaker's desire or intention, is formed by the suffixation of the optative marker -ke.

(3a)

ŋəraŋ	polisnə	phágɛ	háyrəʔî
ŋəraŋ	polis -nə	phá -ke	háy-lək -î
yesterday	police-CNTR	catch-opt	say-dist-nhyp
yesterday	police	want to arrest	said

Yesterday the police (said they) wanted to arrest me.

HM25.87.3

Optatives frequently function to signal future tense. However, an embedded optative clause may also refer to desires or intentions in the past.

(3a)

thóŋsi	loŋge	háynə	khəlləmbənine
thóŋ-si	loŋ-ke	háy-nə	khəl -ləm-pə -ni -ne
door-pdet	lock-opt	say-adv	think-evd-nom-COP-SI
this door	wish locked	that	think

May it be that I have locked the door. (or: I hope I locked that door.)

HM25.127.7

(3c)

láyrik	págɛ	təwriŋəydə	Tombə	lake
láyrik	pá -ke	təw-li -ŋəy -tə	Tombə	lak -e
book	read-opt	do -prog-during-loc	Tomba	come-asrt
book	want to read	when doing that	Tomba	came

At the time when I was making (preparations) to read, Tomba came.

HM25.87.5

5.3 Imperative

The basic way to express a command in M is to suffix the imperative marker -u to a verbal stem.[1]

(4a)

nupá	óyyu	nupiməcə	nə́ŋsuko
nu -pá	óy-u	nu -pi -mə -ca	nə́ŋ-su -ko
person-mas	be-imp	person-fem-one-small	you-ALSO-TAG
person	you be	girl	you also, o.k.

Hey, girl you too be like (one of those) men, o.k. (at least they have a job)!   əMUK78

---

[1]   By regular morphophonemic rules, the imperative suffix has the allomorphs illustrated in (4). With the suffixation of the imperative marker, the final consonant of a verb stem (y,w,p,k), geminates as in (4a). In (4b), by the same rule of gemination illustrated in (4a), the final [t] of the verb stem geminates; then, by a rule of dissimilation, the geminate sequence tt, becomes tl. As illustrated in (4c), the imperative suffix coalesces with the final (identical) vowel of the verb stem. Finally, a diphthong is created when two non-homorganic vowels are adjacent to each other as in (4d) where the imperative marker is suffixed to a verb stem that ends with a. These rules are discussed in detail in Chapter 10.

(4b)	(4c)	(4d)
kə́tlu	phu	páw
kə́t -u	phu -u	pá -u
offer-imp	beat-imp	read-imp
Offer!	Beat!	Read!
HM25.136.4	BJ, p.c.	NG82.d2

A negative command, one that prohibits a certain action, can be issued with the use of the prohibitive marker -nu (which is not morphologically complex but is a distinct imperative form).[2]

---

[2] I have found one example of the solicitive marker used to prohibit an action (see (i)). If V-no is shown to be a productive way of prohibiting an action, the following reanalysis of the negative imperative -nu would be indicated (as in (ii)).

i.   hə́y   cáno
       hə́y   cá -no
       fruit eat-negimp
       Don't eat fruit!   Prb.Q155

ii.   nə 'negative' + u 'imp' = -nu 'prohibitive'
      nə 'negative' + o 'INFM' = -no 'mild prohibitive'

(5a) nə́ŋ láyrik pákhinu

nə́ŋ láyrik pá -khi -nu

you book read-still-probh

you book do not read

Don't read!   HM25.108.4

(5b) nə́ŋ sinema ədu yéŋnu

nə́ŋ sinema ə -du yéŋ -nu

you movie att-ddet look-probh

you movie that don't see

You don't see that movie.   YSS226.23.a

5.4 Supplicative

Supplicatives, indicated by the morpheme -si, allow
the speaker to propose or urge some course of action where
the speaker will be a participant in the action.[3]

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[3] Supplicatives are nominals of the form Verb-si where
-si (derived from the proximate determiner/complemen-
tizer), is the nominalizer. Evidence for the nominalizing
nature of -si comes from comparing two forms:

the supplicative V-si 'let us V'
the exhortative V-sənu 'let them V'
(discussed in section 5.5)

The similarity in meaning and form of the exhortative
and the supplicative, encourages an analysis where both are
derived from the same source. There is evidence that the
exhortative is nominalizing: it has in it a form of the
verb 'to be', -nə and since the copula can only predicate

(6a) əykhoy məyam čáksi lóynə čásənsi
    əy-khoy mə-yam čák -si lóy-nə čá-sən-si
    I -hpl nm-much rice-pdet all-adv eat-in-sup
    we   a lot this rice all let's eat up
    Let's all eat up all of this rice!   PRb.Q355

(6b) əykhoy loynə sinima yéŋbə čə́tse
    əy-khoy loy-nə sinima yéŋ-pə čə́t-si
    I -hpl all-adv cinema look-nom go -sup
    we   all   cinema to look let's go
    Let's all go to the movies.   Prb.Q356

    As noted by NG (1987:85), the supplicative marker can
be used with stative verbs only if the verb takes the
derivational suffix sequence -sinnə 'pretend' (from -sin
'pretend'; -nə 'reciprocal'), where V-sinnəsi means 'let us
pretend that V is'.

---

a nominal form, the construct predicated by -nə in V-sənu
must be a nominal. Thus, the -sə in V-sənu, functions like
a nominalizer. Additionally, -sə is phonologically reduced
form of -si (the reduction is the result of a lexicaliza-
tion pattern as discussed in Chapter 10). Thus the
nominalizer -sə in -sənu and the supplicative -si are
variants of the same morpheme, both derived from the
determiner/complementizer -si. A final piece of evidence
that the supplicative -si is the same as the proximate
determiner/complementizer -si, is that both the proximate
determiner/complementizer -si and the supplicative -si
exhibit a phonologically conditioned variant -se as in
(6b), (by phrase final vowel lowering, see Chapter 10).

(6c) pəŋsinnəsi

pəŋ-sin-nə   -si

fool-in -recip-sup

Let us pretend to be foolish!   NG85.10

The negative marker -tə cannot be used productively
with supplicatives: so, *noktəsi for 'Let's not laugh' is
impossible (HM25.98).[4] There are three ways to phrase a
negative supplicative: the stem -kum 'refuse' might be
compounded with -nok, (6d); the stem might take the non-
potential derivational marker -loy, (6e); or the stem might
be suffixed by the prohibitive marker -nu, (6f). HM feels
that although examples like (6f) are still understandable,
they are archaic.

(6d)	(6e)	(6f)
nókkumsi	nókloysi	nóknusi
nók -kum -si	nók -loy -si	nók -nu -si
laugh-refuse-sup	laugh-npot-sup	laugh-probh-sup
Let's not laugh!	Let's not laugh!	Let's not laugh!
(SN)HM25.99.1b	(SN)HM25.99.1a	(SN)HM25.99.1c

5.5 Exhortative

The exhortative marker -sənu, is used to grant
permission to a 2nd or 3rd person to carry out some

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[4] However, the negative marker may occur with the
exhortative in idioms (see Chapter 6).

action.[5]

(7) məsá   məsági   budhi ədunə
    mə-sá   mə -sá -ki   budhi ə -tu -nə
    nm-body 3P-body-gen wisdom att-ddet-adv
    his body of his self wisdom then

    hótnəjədúnə   pərikha pas təwjəsənu
    hótnə-cə -túnə   pərikhya pas təw-cə -sənu
    try -self-ing   test   pass do -self-exhort
    try themselves   test   pass do for self
    Let them pass the exams by each using their
    intelligence!   əMUK149

5.6 Interrogative

This section will provide a description of
interrogatives in M: yes-no questions, question word
questions, echo questions, alternative questions and tag
questions. Indirect questions are discussed in Chapter 11.

5.6.1 Yes-no questions

The interrogative marker in M is -lə[6]. Questions that

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[5] -sənu is a lexicalized form composed of -sə
(phonologically reduced form of the supplicative -si); -nə
'be' and -u 'imperative'.

[6] -lə may appear as -rə where the initial liquid of
the morpheme becomes a trill in intervocalic position;
through sentence final lowering of vowels, -lə and -rə may

can be answered by 'yes' or 'no' are formed by the suffixation of interrogative enclitic to a nominal construction. This can be a noun root as in (8a); a noun phrase as in (8b) where the noun is followed by a determiner; a noun root followed by case marker as in (8c-e); a relative clause as in (8f) or to a subordinate clause such as the adverbial purpose clause in (8g).

(8a)	
həyeŋ	čutila
həyeŋ	čuti -lə
tomorrow	holiday-INT
tomorow	is it a holiday
Tomorrow a holiday?	
HM14.61.18b	

(8b)		
yénnawsirə		
yén	-naw-si	-lə
hen	-new-pdet-INT	
This is the chick?		
(SN)HM25.17		

(8c) Locative:
čiŋdəra
číŋ-tə -lə
hill-loc-INT
It's in the hills?
HM25.43.1

(8d) Ablative:
kəythéldəgira
kəy -thél -təgi-lə
grain-display-abl -INT
You're returning from the
market? HM25.51.6

---

surface as -la and -ra, respectively). See Chapters 2 and 10 for details.

(8e) Genitive:

```
phúrit    ədu       Tombagira
phúrit    ə  -tu    Tomba-ki  -lə
shirt     att-ddet  Tomba-gen-INT
shirt     that      is it Tomba's
That's Tomba's shirt?                      YS150.18i
```

(8f)

```
Tomba u     kəkpə    míra
Tomba u     kək-pə   mí-lə
Tomba u     cut-nom  man-INT
Tomba tree  to cut   is it man
Is Tomba a wood cutter? HM18.48.7
```

(8g)

```
čánəbəgira
čá -nə -pə -ki -lə
eat-adv-nom-gen-INT
Is this for eating?
        JB25.179.1
```

Only nominalized verbs may form interrogatives. Thus
in (9a), it is the nominalized form of the verb <u>saw</u>, which
is <u>sáwbə</u> 'to be angry', that takes the interrogative suffix
and the same is true in (9b) for the verb <u>cə́t</u> 'go'.

(9a)

```
əynə    cithi  irəktəbəgi             nə́ŋ  sáwbra
əy-nə   cithi  i    -lək -tə -pə -ki  nə́ŋ  sáw  -pə -lə
I -cntr letter write-dist-neg-nom-gen you  angry-nom-INT
I       letter from not writing           you  are you angry
Are you angry that I have not written you a letter?
                                                  HMLET6
```

(9b) cə́ttəbra

```
cə́t       -tə   -pə-lə
go         -neg-nom-INT
(Am I right in thinking that) you didn't go?
                                         PrbQ207
```

As stated above, the interrogative marker suffixes only on nominal forms.[7] Potential mood markers ((-kə 'potential', -loy 'nonpotential', -təw 'certain future', and -tə 'strong possibility/obligation') act like nominalizers; thus, the interrogative marker can be affixed directly on the verb without a nominalizer if the verb ends in a mood marker. In (9c), -lə is suffixed directly to the mood marker -tə 'should' and in (9d), -lə is suffixed directly to the non-potential marker -loy.

---

[7] There also exist a set of marginally acceptable examples where the interrogative is suffixed to bare verb stem. In the Imphal dialect, forms like *cara from cá 'eat' and *cətra from cət 'go' from are clearly ungrammatical. However, (i) and (ii) are grammatical.

(i)				(ii)
ŋə́ŋ	phíron	setra		cə́ttra
ŋə́ŋ	phí	-lon	set -lə	cət-tə-lə
you	cloth-weave		wear-int	go-neg-int
you	pant		do you wear	You didn't go?
So you've worn pants? HMNB14.74				Prb.Q387

(9c) skutər   məniŋdə   tóŋniŋbə
      skutər   mə-niŋ-tə   tóŋ -niŋ -pə
      scooter nm-back-loc   ride-wish-nom
      scooter at the back   the one wishing to ride

      mətəm   lakoydro
      mə-təm   lak -loy -tə   -lə-o
      nm-time come-npot-should-INT-SOLCT
      time   won't it come
      Won't there be a time when (you too) wish to ride
      on the back of a scooter?   əMUK133

(9d) məhak   čə́tloyra
      mə-hak   čə́t-loy -lə
      3P-here go -npot-INT
      he   will he not go
      He said he wouldn't go?   Prb.Q133b

The interrogative marker may also be suffixed to the
nominalized form of a verb with the potential mood markers.
There is no apparent change in meaning between suffixation
to the nominalized form and suffixation to the non-
nominalized form.

(9e)   (9f)
sémdokəbro   čə́tkədəbra
sém   -thok-lə -pə -lo -o   čə́t-kə -tə-pə -lə
correct-out -perf-nom-INT-SOLCT   go -pot-nes-nom-INT
Did they complete the   Must you go?
corrections?   RSS175   Gr.Q32/34

In colloquial speech it is common for subordinating

quotatives to be deleted and for the morphology on the
subordinator to be suffixed on the verb of the subordinated
sentence. This results in the apparent suffixation of the
interrogative marker to the non-nominalized form of the
verb with imperative morphology: see (10a) where the
interrogative is suffixed to <u>čə́tlukho</u> 'You go!'.

(10a)

məkhoydə	hə́nnə	čə́tlukhora			
mə-khoy-tə	hə́n -nə	čə́t-lu -khi -o	háy-pə -lə		
3P-hpl -loc	first-adv	go -adir-still-SOLCT	say-nom-INT		
to them	first	will you go is it			

Do you say that (you want me) to go to their place
first?   Prb.Q135

However, as noted by PCT (1980:84-85), a sentence like
(10a) is actually derived from a sentence like (10b):

(10b)

məkhoydə	hə́nnə	čə́tlukho	háybra
mə-khoy-tə	hə́n -nə	čə́t-lu -khi -o	háy-pə -lə
3P-hpl -loc	first-adv	go -adir-still-SOLCT	say-nom-INT
to them	first	go there	do you say
			that

Did you say that you wanted me to go with them?

Such an analysis could also be used to explain
interrogative marking with the optative in (10c), where the
form with the QUOT complementizer would be <u>tage habə́ra</u> 'Did
you say you would like to hear?'.

```
(10c) nəkhoy  isə́y  ədu       tagera
      nə-khoy isə́y  ə  -tu   ta    -ke  háy-pə -lə
      2P-hpl  song  att-ddet  listen-opt say-nom-INT
      you all song  that      do you want to listen
      Will you listen to the song?              YS150.18g
```

5.6.2 Alternative questions

An alternative question, where the speaker offers two alternatives that can constitute an answer, can be posed with the use of the interrogative marker. Both alternatives may be positive as in (11a).

```
(11a) cəkə əmərə       əniro?
      cəkə ə  -mə -lə   ə  -ni -lə -o
      tire att-one-INT  att-two-INT-SOLCT
      tire is it one    was it two
      Was it one tire or two?                   RSS81
```

Also note in (11a) and in following examples, the use of the solicitive enclitic -o. This enclitic is a performative marker of asking, best translated as 'I ask you please...'. It softens the force of the question, making it a request rather than a demand for information.[8]

In (11b-c) note that one of the alternatives may be

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[8] In interrogatives, this marker always occurs with the interrogative enclitic -lə. As seen in example (10b), it may also be used independently. In such cases it is as a polite imperative. See Chapter 11 for further discussion of the solicitive marker.

positive and the other negative:

(11b) nə́ŋ čə́ttrəbra   čə́tləroydra

     nə́ŋ čə́t-tə -lə -pə -lə čə́t-lə -loy -tə -lə

     you go -nes-pro-nom-INT go -pro-npot-nes-INT

     you will go   will not go

     Are you going or not?   HM18.57.4

(11c)

tə́w háybro   tə́wnu   háybrobə

tə́w háy-pə -lə-o   tə́w-nu   háy-pə -lə -o   háy-pə

do say-nom-INT-SOLCT do -probh say-nom-INT-SOLCT say-nom

do did they say   don't do did they say, tell (me)

(Tell me) did they tell you to do it or not?   RSS105

In both cases, both alternatives must be marked with the interrogative marker. Although in informal speech, no overt conjunction appears; in more formal speech, the alternatives are conjoined with <u>nəttrəgə</u> 'or' (from 'be', <u>-tə</u> 'neg' and <u>-ləgə</u> 'having'; Lit: 'assuming not is')

(11d) thə́kkədra   nəttrəgə   thə́kloydra

     thə́k -kə -tə -lə   nəttrəgə   thə́k -loy -tə -lə

     drink-pot-nes-INT nəttrəgə   drink-npot-nes-INT

     will you drink   or   will you not drink

     Will you drink water or will you not drink water?

                                   YS191.77c

The alternative question may also consist of just the first alternative and the disjunction, with the second alternative unspecified but understood.

(11f) nə́ŋ məhakki   lə́yphəm   khəŋbra   nəttrəgə
      nə́ŋ mə-hak -ki   lə́y-phəm   khəŋ-pə -lə   nəttrəgə
      you 3P-here-gen   be -place   know-nom-INT   nəttrəgə
      you his   living place do you know   or
      Do you know where he lives (or not)?

As noted by YS (1984:190-195), there are two restrictions on the conjuncts: both alternatives must have the same aspect and if one of the alternatives is positive and the other negative, the positive alternative must precede the negative one. YS provides no negative data to support the first restriction but no counterexamples to the claim are found in my data; the second restriction is supported by (11g).

(11g) *   nə́ŋ láyrik ədu   pə́dəribra
          nə́ŋ láyrik ə -tu   pə́ -tə-li -pə -lə
          you book   att-ddet read-neg-prog-nom-INT
          you book   that   have you read

          nəttrəgə   pə́ribra
          nəttrəgə   pə́ -li -pə -lə
          or   read-prog-nom-INT
          or   have you not read
          Have you read that book or not?   YS194.78b

The alternative question can be used as a depe∷dent question as seen in (11h) and (11i).

(11h) phə́ŋŋəmgədrə   phə́ŋŋəmmoydrə

      phə́ŋ-ŋəm -kə -tə -lə phəŋ-ŋəm-loy -tə -lə

      get -able-pot-nes-INT get -able-npot-nes-INT

      will she find   will she not find

      I don't know whether or not she will be able to

      find it. (Lit: Will she or won't she be able to

      find (it)?'   RSS49

(11i) thakhibrə   thakhidəbrə

      tha -khi -pə -lə tha -khi   -tə -pə -lə

      send-still-nom-INT send-still-neg-nom-INT

      did you send   did you not send

      háynə   thakhre

      háy-nə tha -khi -lə -e

      say-adv send-still-pro-asrt

      that   sent

      '...whether or not it is ready he will send

      it...' (Lit: Will it be ready, will it not

      be ready, he will send it.)   RSS169

5.6.3 Tag questions

There are a number of ways to pose a tag question in M. First, the negative form of a positive verb or the positive form of a negative verb can be used as the tag. The tag is suffixed by the interrogative marker. This is illustrated in (12a) where ŋəmde 'not possible' takes the tag ŋəmbra which is the same verb stem (without the negative suffix) suffixed by the interrogative marker.

```
(12a) ucék paybə     ŋəmde           ŋəmbra
      ucék pay-pə  ŋəm    -tə -e   ŋəm     -pə -lə
      bird fly-nom possible-neg-asrt possible-nom-INT
      bird to fly  not possible     is it possible
      Birds cannot fly, can they?              YS207.100a
```

A second way to form a tag question is to use an
invariant tag marker (it has only one form regardless of
the whether the questioned clause is negative or not).
There are two invariant tags: the lexical item nəttra 'is
it not so?' and the enclitic -ko 'right?; don't you
agree?' Whereas a tag question with the tag nəttra
requires a verbal response, the tag question with -ko can
be answered by non-verbally expressed agreement/ dis-
agreement.

```
(12b) Jon    əsidə        lakkəni      háybə    nəttra
      Jonə  ə -si  -tə lak -kə -ni  háy -pə  nəttra
      Jonnə att-pdet-loc come-pot-COP say-nom  nəttra
      John here           will come    that    is it not
      John said that he would come here, didn't he?
                                              HM18.48.4c
```

```
(12c) se    se    əy wá   háyge        taroko
      se    se    əy wá   háy-ke       ta -lə -o     -ko
      hark hark I  word say-opt        hear-pro-SOLCT-TAG
      hark hark I  word want to say listen, o.k?
      Hey, hey I'd like to say something, go ahead and
      listen, o.k.?                            əMUK141
```

5.6.4 The morphology of QW-questions

The M question-word (QW) system is rich: there are 11 basic forms all of which begin with the QW marker kǝ- (from Proto-Sino-Tibetan interrogative *ka (Benedict, 1984a:1)). These basic forms are morphologically frozen: it is often hard reconstruct the meaning of a QW form from the sum of the meanings of its parts. However, the lexicalized QW form has the characteristics of a nominal an thus is inflected like a noun (suffixed by case markers or other pragmatic peak markers (see Chapter 4)). In Table 1, I give a list of the basic QW's, their meaning, and some notes on their etymology.

Table 1: Question words

QW	Meaning	Analysis of morphology following QW marker
kəna	who	nə 'agentive'
kəri	what	-ri is an unidentified morpheme
kəydəw	doing what	from kəri 'what' and tə́w 'do'. kəri>kəy by a fast speech phenomena. This has been lexicalized in the case of the question words. See Chapter 10.
kəydəwŋəy	when (exact time/ day)	from kəri 'what', təw 'do' and ŋəy 'during'
kəyam (for mass noun); kəya (for count nouns)	how much, how many	from yam 'lot'
kərəm	how, in what way	from ləm 'path, way'
kərəmbə	which	from ləm 'path, way' and the nominalizer -pə
kəday	where	from -təgi 'ablative', through fast speech təgi>təy/day.
kəmdəwnə/ kəmayna	did/do V how	kərəm 'how'+ tə́w 'do'/ kərəm 'how' and há́y 'QUOT' and the adverb narker -nə
kəmdəw	to what extent	kərəm+tə́w

5.6.5 Case marking on the QW

The QW may occur as a bare noun as in kəna in (13a) or with with case marking in (13b-d). The marking on the QW follows rules for the marking on arguments described in Chapter 4.[9]

(13a) kəna kəythéldə   čə́tli
       kəna kəy -thél   -tə čə́t-li
       who grain-display-loc go-prog
       who to the market   going
       Who goes to the market?   YS166.36a

(13b) kənadəgi kəmdəwnə   ləyruríbə
       kəna-təgi kəmdəwnə   ləy-lu -lə -í   háy-pə
       who-abl   how   buy-adir-perf-nhyp say-nom
       from whom how   did go and buy, tell (me)
       How and from whom did he buy the certificate?
                                                   əMUK103

(13c)
Jonnə   čákkə   kərigə   thóŋŋí   háybə
Jon -nə   čák -kə   kəri-kə   thóŋ-í   háy-pə
John-CNTR   rice-ass   what-ass   cook -nhyp say-nom
John   with rice   what with cooked   said
What is it you said, John cooked rice with?   HM24.121.11

---

[9] Note that kəna is a frozen form so the na no longer functions to mark case.

```
(13d)   nə́ŋnə    əygi  marəmdə   ədum
        nə́ŋ-nə    əy-ki ma-ləm-tə  ə  -sum
        you-CNTR  I-gen nm-way-loc att-so
        you       my    towards    thus

        háynə    karigi   háyrino
        háy-nə   kari-ki  háy-li  -no
        say-adv  what-gen say-prog-INQ
        that     why      do you say that
        Why do you talk about me like that?        HM14.54.5b
```

Example (13d) is especially interesting since the meaning of the form _karigi_ cannot be interpreted as a combination of the meanings of _kari_ 'what' and _-ki_ 'genitive. Where a meaning like 'of what, from what or belonging to what' is expected, the meaning obtained is 'why'. Possibly, _karigi_ might be translatable as 'from what (cause)' thereby yielding the meaning of 'why'.[10] Curiously, the form _karidəgi_ from _kari_ 'what' and _-təgi_ 'ablative' which would mean 'from what cause', is not attested.

---

[10] Question words which mean 'belonging to what' but signal 'why' are cross-lingusitically observed: for example, in Dyirbal (Dixon, 1972), Hungarian (Robert Harnish p.c.) and Navajo (Willem de Reuse p.c.).

5.6.6 Nominal and verbal QWs

There are four ways to pose a QW question in M. First, as shown in (14a), a nominal form of the QW can be used to question an argument in a simple sentence. To question an entire proposition, the QW appears to the left edge of the proposition and the sentence is predicated by the inquisitive enclitic -no[11].

(14a) kənagi   yénawno
      kəna-ki yénaw -no
      who-gen chicken-INQ
      whose   is this chicken, tell me
      Whose chicken is this?' (Lit: Whose, is this
      chicken, tell me.)

Questions are marked with -no when the speaker requests the hearer to provide additional information about some topic/thing and can be translated as 'tell me please, (what) is it?'.

---

[11] The similarity the solicitive -o and the inquisitive enclitic -no is apparent both in a segmental sense and from the meanings the markers impart: both contain the segment -o and both soften the comunicative force of the speech act they signal. It is probable that -no is the lexicalized combination of nə 'be' and the solicitive marker. Note, the distributional difference between these markers in the synchronic grammar: -o subcategorizes for verbs whereas -no affixes to nominal forms.

The third way of posing a QW question is to utilize the verbalized form of a bare or case marked QW where the form translates literally as 'QW-is it?'. When the verbalized QW is used, it acts as the predicate for the sentence taking either a simple NP argument as in (14b,c) or a full complement as in (14d).

(14b) kənagino   (14c)   nə́ŋ kənano
     kəna-ki -no   nə́ŋ kəna-no
     who -gen-INQ   you who-INQ
     Whose is (it)?   Who are you?   HM25.17.13

(14d)

nə́ŋnə	puthorəkkəni			háybədu	kərino?
nə́ŋ-nə	pu	-thok-lək-kə	-ni	háy-pədu	kəri-no?
you-CNTR	carry-out	-dist-pot-COP		say-dcomp	what-INQ
you	will take out			that	what is it

What is it that you said you would bring?

The QW-no sequence may be a simple QW (as in (14d)) or a QW clause (14e):

(14e)

nə́ŋnə	ləyrəkpə	phurittu	kərəmbə	məkhə́ngino
nə́ŋ-nə	ləy-lək -pə	phurit-tu	kərəmbə	mə-khə́n-ki -no
you-CNTR	buy-dist-nom	shirt-ddet	which	nm-type-gen-INQ
you	bought	that shirt	which	kind is it

That shirt that you bought, what type is it?   HM24.132.5

There is a difference between the <u>QW verb-no</u> and the <u>QW-no verb</u> type question. The <u>QW verb-no</u> type question is used only when the speaker is immediately confronted with

the matter discussed in the proposition (such as holding the chicken in (14a) or just having watched a conversation transpire between the relevant parties in (13d)). Opposed to this, in the QW-no verb combinations as in (14b-c), the speaker does not have this type of prior information.

5.6.7 Position of the QW

To summarize, there are three types of QW questions (illustrative example numbers are given in parentheses after the listing of the question type):

1. nominal form of QW - verb final   (13a)
2. nominal form of QW-main verb takes -no   (14a)
3. verbal form of QW   (14b)

With Type 1 questions, in the questioning of the actor, patient, goal, theme and other oblique arguments in simple sentences, the QW appears in situ (following canonical agent-patient-verb order).

(15a)	(15b)			
kəna ləyri	mánə	phîdu	kənadə	útli
kəna ləy-li	má-nə	phî -tu	kəna-tə	út -li
who be -prog	he-CNTR	cloth-ddet	who -loc	show-prog
Who is there?	he	that cloth	to whom	has shown
HM24.1	To whom has he shown the cloth. Devi214.1c			

(15c)　　nə́ŋgi　　yúm　　kədaydə　　lə́y

　　　　　nəŋ-ki　　yúm　　kəday-tə　　lə́y-í

　　　　　you -gen　house　where-loc　is -nhyp

　　　　　your　　　house　where　　　is

　　　　　Where is you house?　　　　　　　　　　HM6.135.1

Additionally, QW may occur in noncanonical position as shown in three examples from YS given in (16). Here, the QW is shown in three different positions: after the actor, left-adjacent to V, and sentence initially.

(16a)　　nə́ŋ　kəydəwŋəy　yúmdə　　　čə́tkəni

　　　　　nə́ŋ　kəydəwŋəy　yúm　-tə　　čə́t-kə -ni

　　　　　you　when　　　　house-loc　go -pot-COP

　　　　　you　when　　　　to home　　will go

　　　　　When will you go home?　　　　　　　　YS179.59a

(16b)　　nə́ŋ　yúmdə　kəydəwŋəy　čə́tkəni　　　　YS179.59b

(16c)　　kəydəwŋəy　nə́ŋ　yúmdə　čə́tkəni　　　　YS179.59c

Of course, general word order constraints hold here. The verb must be sentence final, thus, the QW cannot occur after the verb. Members within a QW phrase can be repositioned as long as the QW constituent is not broken up. So, while the contrastive marker must head the entire QW phrase (see ungrammaticality of (16d)), the constituents within the clause may be moved around (see (16e,f).

```
(16d)   *nə́ŋ   tínnə            kərəmbə   číkkhre
         nə́ŋ   tín-nə           kərəmbə   čík-khi    -lə   -e
         you   insect-CNTR      which     bite-still-perf-asrt
         you   by insect        which     bit
         Which insect bit you?                        YS162.31a


(16e)   kərəmbə   tínnə   nə́ŋ   číkkhre                YS162.32c


(16f)   nə́ŋ   tín    kərəmbənə     číkkhre
         nə́ŋ   tín    kərəmbə-nə    čík-khi   -lə   -e
         you   insect which   -agn bit-still-perf-asrt
         you   insect by which      bit
         Which insect has bitten you?                  YS162.31b
```

Part of a conjunct may be questioned in situ only when the question is an echo question i.e. the speaker has not heard the declarative counterpart of the sentence clearly and requests a repetition of that sentence.

```
(17)    Jonnə       čákkə      kərigə    thóŋŋí     háybə
         Jon-nə      čák-kə     kəri-kə   thóŋ-í     háy-pə
         John-CNTR   rice-ass   what-ass  cook-nhyp  say-nom
         John        with rice  with what cooked      you say
         You said John cooked rice with what?     HM24.121.11
```

HM notes that such a sentence might also be used as a (written) exam question.

A constituent of a subordinate clause (as in (18a)) or a relative clause (as in (18b)) is questioned, in situ.

(18a)

```
ey keri wá    háysibə  háybə     háynə     khəlli
ey keri wá    háy-si   háy-pə    háy-nə    khəl -li
I   what word say-sup  say-nom   say-adv   think-prog
I   what word let me   say that  that      am thinking
I am thinking about what I should say.         Pr. 86.18
```

(18b)

```
nə́ŋ  kəna lúhónbə              pámmí
nə́ŋ  kəna lú  -hón  -pə        pám -í
you  who  trap-carry-nom       want-nhyp
you  who  to marry             like
Who do you want to marry?                     YS169.37a
```

In type 3 questions, the verbalized QW must occur at the edge of a clause. If the QW occurs at the right edge of the clause, a neutral reading is obtained:

```
(19a)  nə́ŋnə     puthorəkidu             kərino
       nə́ŋ-nə    pu  -thok-lək -li  -tu  kəri-no
       you-CNTR  carry-out -dist-prog-ddet what-INQ
       you       that you carry            what is it
       What is it that you brought?        HM25.47.5a
```

If the QW occurs at the left edge of the clause, the clause which follows the QW is focused.

```
(19b)  kərino  nə́ŋnə puthorəkidu
       That (which) you brought, what is it?   HM25.47.5b
```

Of course, as the QW might be part of a subordinated clause where the QW occurs at the right edge of the

subordinated clause:

(19c)   néŋnə   kərino   puthorəkí
           néŋ-nə   kəri-no   pu   -thok-lək -í
           you-CNTR what-INQ   carry-out -dist-nhyp
           you   what is it   brought out

           háybədéyne
           háy-pə -təw -lə   -í   -ne
           say-nom-oblg-perf-nhyp-SI
           said
           You said you would bring what?   HM25.47.5c

However, the QW may not occur within the subordinate clause
that it questions out of:

(19d)   * néŋnə kərino puthorəkidu
       What is it that you brought?   HM25.47.5c

5.6.8 Multiple wh's

In the case of multiple wh's within a clause, the QW's
may appear in situ or may order freely with other consti-
tuents within the sentence (20a-e). In keeping with
general word order constriants, neither of the QW's may
occur after the verb.

```
(20a)
mahakti        kanadagi    kamdawna    lawruriba
mahak-ti       kana-tagi   kamdaw-na   law-lu  -li    háy-pa
he    -DLMT    who -abl    how    -adv  buy-adir-prog  say-nom
he             from who    how          he bought, tell (me)
How and from where did he buy the certificate?    aMUK103


(20b)   kanadagi mahakti kamdawna lawruriba
        from who he      how      buy


(20c)   kamdawna mahakti kanadagi lawruriba
        how      he      from who buy


(20d)   kanadagi kamdawna mahakti lawruriba
        from who how      he      buy


(20e)   kamdawna kanadagi mahakti lawruriba
        how      from     who     he buy
```

However, verbal QW's cannot be separated:

(20f)   kənano   kərinone   nə́ŋnə
        kəna-no   kəri-no -ne   nə́ŋ-nə
        who -INQ   what-INQ-SI   you -CNTR
        who is it what is it   you

        khəŋde   háyribədubo   məma
        khəŋ-tə -e   háy-li -pədu -pu   mə -ma
        know -neg-asrt say-prog-dcomp-pat 3P-mother
        don't know   that you are saying their
                        mother
        Mother what or who do you say that you don't know.
                                                    əMUK8

5.6.9 Phrase final rising intonation

Questions with interrogative morphology do not have a
characteristic tune associated to them. It is claimed in
the literature on M, that phrase final rising intonation
can be used to mark interrogativity. YS provides (21a) as
an example, claiming that it is final rising intonation
that allows this declarative sentence to be interpreted as
an interrogative.

(21a)   nə́ŋ   hə́wjik phə́wbə   isə́y sə́kli
        nə́ŋ   hə́wjik phə́w-pə   isə́y sə́k-li
        you   now   upto-nom song sing-prog
        you   now   upto   song singing
        You are still singing?   YS185.70a

I find good support for this claim in the conversations and

plays that I have recorded. For example, in a continuation of the exchange reproduced in example (21b), another character in the play, the Sister, asks why it is Nimay, who is known to be a kind and gentle man, is being arrested by the police:

(21b) Sister: Nimaybudi
                 Nimay-pu -ti
                 Nimay-pat-DLMT
                 It is that Nimay?   əMUK94

It is phrase final rising intonation that indicates that this N is being used as a question. However, without an adequate pragmatic grounding, intonation alone cannot signal an interrogative.

6 Subordination

As discussed in Chapter 3, there are three types of clausal subordination in M. First, a noninflected V can be nominalized to form a nominal clause. As shown in (1), nominalization can be accomplished through the suffixation of a nominalizing enclitic to a finite verb. Other forms of nominalization are discussed in section 6.1. The nominalized verb may be a verb or the predicate of a clause. The phrase structure of a nominalized clause is as in (2).

(1) V- (derivation)-nominalizer
(2) Snom → (NP*) Vnom

As will be disscussed in section 6.1, the nominalized clause functions in the formation of relative clauses and adjectives. The nominalized clause is also the basis for complements which are constructed by suffixing complementizers to or introducing lexical complementizers after the nominalized clause. Finally, adverbial clauses can be created by suffixing subordinators on either nominalized constructions or on complements.

6.1 Nominalization

Verbs can be nominalized in a number of ways and can function as relative clauses, adjectives, or nominalized complements. In this section, I will describe the

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morphology of nominalization and the constructions in which
nominalized verbs occur.

6.1.1 Nominalizers

There are three types of nominalizers in M.   -pə
nominalizes a verb:

(3) nupidunə   ŋádu   phábə   pámmí
    nupi -tu -nə   ŋá -tu   phá -pə pám-í
    female-ddet-CNTR fish-ddet   catch-nom like-nhyp
    that woman   that fish   to catch like
    The woman wants to catch fish.   HM24.157.10

Second, the mood markers (-kə 'potential', -loy
'nonpotential', -təw 'obligation/probability', and -tə
'necessity'), also act as nominalizers. Evidence for the
nominalizing nature of these markers   comes from two
sources. First, verbs that are inflected with these mood
markers can be suffixed directly by the copula -ni as in
cágəni 'will eat' (from čá 'eat', -kə 'potential' and -ni
'copula'). Since -ni can only be suffixed to nominals, it
is reasonable to conclude that V-kə is a nominal.   A
similar argument for the nominalizing character of these
mood   markers   comes   from   the   yes-no   interrogative
construction.   As   discussed   in   section   5.6.1,   the
interrogative marker -lə can be affixed only to nominals.
Verbs inflected with the mood markers listed above can also
be   suffixed   by   -lə   and   this   distribution   of   the
interrogative marker lends support to the analysis of these
mood markers as nominalizers. The mood markers may occur
independently as nominalizers (as in (4)), or may occur in

conjunction with the nominalizer (as in (5)).

(4) yə́wgədro   (5) čə́tkədəbra
    yə́w -kə -tə -lə -o   čə́t-kə -tə -pə -lə
    reach-pot-nes-INT-SOLCT   go -pot-nes-nom-INT
    will she be able to attain Do you have to go?
    Will she be able to make it?
    RSS63   Gr.Q32/34

There are also lexical nominalizers, the most common of which is jat 'type' (borrowed from the Hindi jat 'caste').

(6) má əygi   kádə   thə́ʔəməjatlə
    má əy-ki ká -tə thə́k -ləm-lə -jat -lə
    he I -gen room-loc drink-evd-perf-type-INT
    he my   to room is it that (he) smoke
    Could it be that he smoked in my room.

Evidence that jat is nominalizing comes from the fact that verbs suffixed with jat can take the interrogative marker. This follows the generalization that only nominalized forms can take the interrogative. See Chapter 11 for further examples of the nominalizer jat.

A second stem that can be used as a nominalizer is the noun pót 'thing'. This nominalizer is used to delimit the action or state described in the verb as being from a group of similar actions or states.

(7)

semgətpə   mä́ŋhənbə   ŋəmpót   nəttene
sem -khət -pə   mä́ŋ -hən -pə   ŋəm -pót   nətte-ne
make-up   -nom loose-caus-nom able-thing   not -SI
make   cause to loose possible thing not all
'...it is not the kind of thing where I can cause
    loss to or help (the students myself)...'   əMUK130

Evidence that p̲ó̲t̲ is a nominalizer comes from the fact that
the copula ̲-̲n̲i̲ can be suffixed to a verbal noun of the form
V̲-̲p̲ó̲t̲. This is illustrated in (8):

(8) sə̂mghrəpotni
    sə̂m -khi -lə -pot -ni
    short-still-pro-thing-COP
    it was going to be a type of short cut   RSS192

6.1.2 Relative clauses

    Nominalized clauses function in the formation of
relative clauses (hereafter RCs). M exhibits externally
headed RCs where: the relativized noun occurs to the right
of the RC; the RC is marked with the nominalizer ̲-̲p̲ə̲ and
the relativized position is left unmarked. This is
illustrated in (9) where the relativized noun n̲u̲p̲á̲d̲u̲d̲i̲
'that boy' occurs to the right of the RC n̲ə̲s̲i̲ č̲ə̲̂t̲p̲ə̲, 'the
one who goes today'. As can be seen, the RC is indicated
by the suffixation of the nominalizer ̲-̲p̲ə̲ to the verbal
element in the clause.

(9)
```
ŋəsi čə́tpə   nupádudi                    məsá     phə̂y
ŋəsi čə́t-pə  nu  -pá -tu -ti             mə-sá    phə̂ -ı̂
today go-nom person-male-ddet-DLMT        nm-body  good-nhyp
today one who goes that boy                        body     is good
The boy who is going today is handsome.            HM24.44.13
```

Relative clauses are generated through the phrase structure
rule given in (10).

(10)   NP   →   S_{nom} N

    The following arguments can be relativized: Actor
(11); Patient (12), Theme (13); Goal (14); Instrument (15);
Source (16) and Path (17).

(11) Actor:
```
      kolom páyrəbə         nipá
      kolom páy -lə  -pə    ni-pá
      pen   hold-perf-nom   person-mas
      pen   one who held    boy
```

```
      məcado             əygi    mərupni
      mə-ca    -du       əy-ki   mərup -ni
      nm-small-ddet      I -gen  friend-COP
      that small one     my      friend is
      That boy who came here and held the pen is my
      friend.                                   HM24.66.1b
```

(12) Patient:

Ramnə   phúbə   Tombədu   sólli
Ram-nə   phú -pə   Tombə-tu   sól -li
Ram-CNTR beat-nom Tomba-ddet weak-prog
Tomba who was beaten by Ram is weak.   MD168.3c.

(13) Theme:

əynə   ləyrəkpə   láyriktu   phə́y
əy-nə   ləy-lək -pə   láyrik-tu   phə́ -í
I -CNTR buy-dist-nom   book   -ddet good-nhyp
I   which bought   that book   is good
The book which I bought is good.   HM24.63.7

(14) Goal:
əhə́l   óyrəbə   nupadunə
ə -hə́l   óy-lə -pə   nu   -pá -tu   -nə
att-first be-perf-nom   person-mas-ddet-CNTR
old   being that   man

ŋárúbak
ŋá -lú -pak
fish-trap-broad
basket of fish

pírəmbə   nupidu   əygi   nupini
pí -ləm-pə   nu   -pi -tu   əy-ki   nu   -pi -ni
give-evd-nom   person-fem-ddet   I -gen person-fem-COP
to the one given   that woman   my   friend is
The woman to whom the basket of fish was given by the man
who is old is my wife.   HM24.58.1

(15) Instrument:

Tombənə   ŋa phákhibə   laŋdusini
Tombə-nə   ŋa phá -khi -pə laŋ-tu   ə -si -ni
Tomba-CNTR fish catch-still-nom net-ddet   att-pdet-COP
Tomba   fish to have caught that net   this is
This is net that Tomba caught the fish with.

(16) Source:

    tebəl   məthəktə   léyribə
    tebəl   mə-thək-tə   léy-li -pə
    table   nm-top -loc be -prog-nom
    table   on top of   being

    láyriktəgi   wáhəypərəŋsiŋdu   iyu
    láyrik-təgi   wáhəypərəŋ-siŋ-tu   i   -u
    book -abl   sentence   -pl-ddet write-imp
    from the book those sentences   write
    Write out the sentences in the book that is on the
    table.   HM6.200.27a

(17) Path:

Tombənə	Sitagə	lóynənə		plen
Tombə-nə	Sita-kə	lóy-nə	-nə	plen
Tomba-CNTR	Sita-ass	all-recip-adv		plane
Tomba	with Sita	together		plane

paykhibə		číŋdoldu	yámnə	wáŋŋí
pay -khi	-pə	číŋ -thon-tu	yám -nə	wáŋ-í
fly -still-nom		hill-name-ddet	much-adv	tall-nhyp
one who flew		that hill	very	is tall

The mountains over which Tomba flew the plane with
Sita are very tall.   HM24.59.3

6.1.2.1 Marking the relativized noun

Case marking on the relativized noun follows the
principles outlined for NPs in Chapter 4:   a RC may be
marked a semantic role marker or by a pragamtic peak
marker. For example, the delimitative enclitic marks the
relativized noun:

(18)

huy hatpə	nupadi		əygi	mərupni
huy hat -pə	nu -pá	-ti	əy-ki	mərup -ni
dog kill -nom	person-mas-DLMT		I -gen	friend-COP
dog to kill	to friend		my	friend is

Only the men who kill dogs are my friends.
                                               HM24.50.2

Just as described for N's, an unmarked relativized
human noun gets a indefinite reading.   So in (19) the
relativized noun **nupámǝcanǝ** refers to all boys for all
time.

(19)   láyrik yámnə   kənnə   pábə   nupá

        láyrik yám -nə kən -nə pá -pə   nu   -pá

        book   much-adv hard-adv read-nom   person-male

        book   very   hard   one who studies boy

        məcanə   əphə́bə   thəbək phə́ŋŋí

        mə-ca   -nə   ə -phə́ -pə thəbək phə́ŋ-í

        nm-small-CNTR att-good-nom work   find-nhyp

        small   good   work   will find

        Boys who study hard get good jobs.   HM24.42.1b

The distribution of the proximate and distance determiners (əsi 'this', ədu 'that') is slightly different with RCs than for other NPs. Inanimate nouns take the proximate or distance determiner following the criteria described for other NPs. That is, əsi occurs with NPs that can be seen or are the current topic of conversation and ədu is used with NPs that cannot be seen or introduce a non-current topic in the conversation.

However, relativized animate human nouns which are marked by the distance determiner ədu, refer to either a physically or conversationally distant or proximate topic. It is possible to use the proximate determiner when the relativized NP is visible to the speaker; however, this use is stylistically marked. Compare (20) and (21).

(20)

nupá		phûbə	nupidu			əy kízəy
nu	-pá	phú -pə	nu	-pi	-tu	əy ki -čə -í
person-mas		beat-nom	person-female-ddet			I fear-self-nhyp
girl	one	who beat	that man			I fear

I'm afraid of the girl who beat the man.   HM24.49.3b

(21)

nupá		phûbə	nupisi		əy kízəy
nu	-pá	phú -pə	nu	-pi -si	əy ki -čə -í
person-mas		beat-nom	person-fem-pdet		I fear-self-nhyp
girl		one who beat	this man		I fear

I'm afraid of this girl here who beat the man. HM24.49.3c

6.1.2.2 Internally headed relative clauses

Internally headed RCs are also possible: in this
case, the relativized noun appears in the position to be
relativized and a determiner (referring back to the
relativized NP) occurs on the nominalized clause. Such RCs
are structurally identical to complements (see section 6.2)
but function as RCs. Example (22) illustrates the
externally headed RC construction and (23) illustrates the
corresponding internally headed construction. See also
(24) and (25).

(22)

```
hə́wnə     ŋáŋbə      nupá       ədo      əygi     mərupni
hə́w -nə   ŋáŋ-pə     nu   -pá   ə  -tu   əy-ki    mərup -ni
loud-adv  speak-nom  person-mas att-ddet I -gen   friend-COP
loudly    to speak   man         that one my       friend is
The boy that spoke loudly is my friend.         HM24.48.4
```

(23)

```
nupá        hə́wnə      ŋáŋbədo            əygi     mərupni
nu   -pá    hə́w -nə    ŋáŋ  -pə -tu       əy-ki    mərup -ni
person-mas  loud-adv   speak -nom-ddet    I -gen   friend-COP
man         loudly     that speaking      my       friend is
The loudly speaking boy, that one is my friend. HM24.48.5
```

(24)

```
nupá        əwáŋbəsi            əygi         mərupni
nu   -pá    ə  -wáŋ-pə -si      əy-ki        mərup -ni
person-mas  att-tall-nom-pdet   I -gen       friend-COP
male this one that is tall      my           friend is
The tall man, this one, is my friend.          HM24.49.1
```

(25)

```
nupá        phubəsi        əygi     mərupni
nu   -pá    phu -pə -si    əy-ki    mərup -ni
person-mas  beat-nom-pdet  I -gen   friend-COP
man         this beaten one my       friend is
The man beater, this one, is my friend.         HM24.49.4
```

Internally headed RCs always have a Actor-Patient-Verb word order; so, in such constructions the relativized noun never occurs to the right of RC:

```
(26)    *əynə    čə́tlibəsi         məphəm   əsi
        əy-nə    čə́t-li  -pə -si   mə-phəm  ə  -si
        I -CNTR  go -prog-nom-pdet  nm-place att-pdet
        I        one to which going place    this

        yámnə    lappí
        yám -nə  lap-í
        much-adv far-nhyp
        very     far
        The place where I'm on my way to is very far
        away.                                        HM24.46.8d
```

There are also structurally similar constructions like
(27), where the realtivized NP occurs on the right of the
RC. However, this is not an RC, but a complement.

```
(27)
səŋgóm     thə́kpəsi         əŋáŋnə       məsá     kálli
sən-khóm   thə́k -pə -si     əŋáŋ-nə      mə-sá    kál    -í
cow-udder  drink-nom-pdet    child-CNTR   nm-body  hard-nhyp
milk       this drinking     child        body     strong
By that drinking of milk, that boy looks strong.
                                                  HM24.47.1
```

A copulative sentence may also be used as an internally
headed RCs:

(28)

mági	nupidə	ŋárubak	pírəmbəni
má-ki	nu -pi -tə	ŋá -lu -pak	pí -ləm-pə -ni
he-gen	person-fem-loc	fish-net-broad	give-evd-nom-COP
of him	to the man	basket of fish	who gave

nipadu	čə́tkhre
ni -pá -tu	čə́t-khi -lə -e
person-mas-ddet	go -still-perf-asrt
that man	man went

The man who gave the basket of fish to his wife, left.

HM24.57.1

6.1.2.3 Question words as relative pronouns

Although there are no relative pronouns in M, question
words (QWs) can be used as relative pronouns to head
indirect questions. Delancey (1989:1-2), notes that RC
constructions using QW as relative pronouns have developed
under Indic influence in Kathmandu Newari, Kanauri and
Ladakhi Tibetan. This is probably the case for M.
However, historical evidence for this structural borrowing,
involving the study of Old and Middle M texts, needs to be
carried out before this hypothesis can be confirmed. In
the constructions under consideration, an optative clause
that contains a QW is subordinated by a complementizer (in
this case, a quotative is used). This subordinated clause,
which is an indirect question, may contain one of 3 QW:
kəri 'what' (see (29)) and kəna 'who' (see (30)) and
kərəmnə 'how' (see (31)).

(29)   əynə   upudu   kəri yáwbəge

          əy-nə   upu-tu   kəri yáw   -pə -ke

          I-CNTR   box-ddet what include-nom-opt

          I   that box what it wants to include

          háybədo   khəŋŋí

          háy-pə -tu   khəŋ-í

          say-nom-ddet know -nhyp

          that   know

          I know what that box should have in it. (Lit: I

          know what that box wants to have in it.)   HM24.88.1

(30)   kənadə   peysa pígədəge

          kəna-tə   peysa pí   -kə -tə -ke

          who -loc money give-pot-nes-opt

          to whom money we should give

          háynə   əykhoy ŋáŋnərəmmí

          háy -nə   əy-khoy ŋáŋ -nə   -ləm-í

          that-adv I -pl   speak-recip-evd-nhyp

          that   we   spoke together

          We talked about who we should give money to.

                                        NB5.4.1

(31) kərmnənə   ironbəge   háybədu   útlu
      kərmnə-nə   ironba-ke   háy-pədu   út -lə -u
      how   -adv ironba[1]-opt say-dcomp show-pro-imp
      how   want ironba that   show
      Please show me how to cook ironba.   HM24.91.1

6.1.2.4 Quotatives used to signal RCs

When the RC refers to a future state, the QUOT must be used to signify the subordination of the RC (see section 6.5 for details on the interaction of tense and subordination). In these cases the RC consists of a nominalized clause subordinated by the quotative haybə.

(32) kolom páykhrəgəni   háybə
      kolom páy -khi -lə -kə -ni   háy-pə
      pen   hold-still-pro-pot-COP   say-nom
      pen   will carry   that one

      nupá   məcado   əygi mərupni
      nu   -pá   mə-ca   -tu   əy-ki mərup -ni
      person-mas   nm-small-ddet   I -gen friend-COP
      man   small that one   my   friend is
      The boy who is going to hold the pen is my friend.
                                                HM24.68k

Additionally, the speaker can optionally use a quotative to subordinate a proposition that does not refer to a future event or state.

---

[1] ironba is a chutney made of dried fermented fish, green chilies and starchy vegetables.

(33) kolom páykhre   háybə
      kolom páy -khi -lə -e   háy-pə
      pen   hold-still-perf-asrt say-nom
      pen   held   that

      nupá məcado   əygi   mərupni
      nupá mə-ca   -tu   əy-ki   mərup -ni
      male nm-small-ddet I -gen   friend-COP
      man small   one my friend is
      The boy (who said) that (he) held the pen is my
      friend.   HM24.68m

(34) láynə   təmkhrebə   háybəse
      láy-nə təm -khi -lə -e   -pə háy-pəsi
      god-foc learn-still-perf-asrt-nom say-dcomp
      by god is learnt   that

      niŋthəw   ədunə
      niŋ-thəw ə -du -nə
      wish-work att-ddet-adv
      king   then
      '...that king who learnt from god...'   LAYBəK40

      As discussed in Chatper 11, the quotative is used to
subordinate clauses when the speaker wishes to place an
evidential value on the subordinated clause. More examples
are needed to determine if the quotative is used to assign
such evidential value in RCs. Note that this is
structurally distinct from complements subordinated by QUOT
since the (relativized) actor occurs outside the
subordinated clause.

6.1.2.5 Adjectives

As discussed in Chapter 3, independent adjectives are formed through the prefixation of the attributive marker ə- to the nominalized forms of stative verbs. Although adjectives and RCs have the same function (i.e. to modify a noun), they are formally and distributionally distinct and in this section, I will identify what these differences are.

First, the nominalized verb in an RC can describe an action carried out or a state realized by the relativized verb.

```
(35)  əygi    yámnə    sáwgənbə              mərup
      əy-ki   yám-nə   sáw   -kən    -pə     mərup
      I -gen  much-adv anger -repeat-nom     friend
      my      very     always angry          friend

      doctərdo     həwjiktə    čə́tkhre
      doctər-tu    həwjik-tə   čə́t-khi  -lə  -e
      doctor-ddet  now   -loc  go -still-perf-asrt
      that doctor  right now   has left
      My friend who is a doctor who is very angry has
      just left.                                  HM24.41.6
```

```
(36)  hui hatpə    nupádi
      hui hat -pə   nu     -pá -ti
      dog kill-nom  person-mas-DLMT
      dog to kill   to friend
      'the men who kill dogs...'              HM24.50.2
```

On the other hand adjectives, which are formed on stative verbs, can describe only states. There are idiosyncratic instances where adjectives can be formed on transitive verb roots; however, in these cases only an intransitive reading is obtained.

(37) əčábə   pót
      ə -čá -pə pót
      att-eat-nom thing
      for eating   thing
      something   edible

Second, RCs appear either before the relativized noun or as in internally headed RC, contain the relativized noun; RCs never occur after the relativized noun. Opposed to this adjectives may be prenominal (as in (37) above) or postnominal (as in (38)).

(38) sadhəbiget əsábə   páyrəgə
      sadhəbiget ə -sá -pə   páy -ləgə
      certificate att-hot-nom   hold-after
      certificate fake   after securing
      '...after securing a false certificate...'   əMUK99

The similarity between adjectives and RC constructions allows for the type of ambiguity illustrated in (39a-c).[2]

---

[2] These examples were reported to me by HM whose source is Yashwanta Singh (personal communication).

(39a)　əmə́nbə　　　láyrik yónbə　　dukandu　əygini
　　　　ə -mə́n-pə　láyrik yón -pə　dukan-tu　əy-ki -ni
　　　　att-old-nom book　　sell-nom shop-ddet I -gen-COP
　　　　old　　　　book　　selling　that shop is mine

The translation for this sentence would be 'The shop which sells old books', if the structure for the NP is:

(39b)
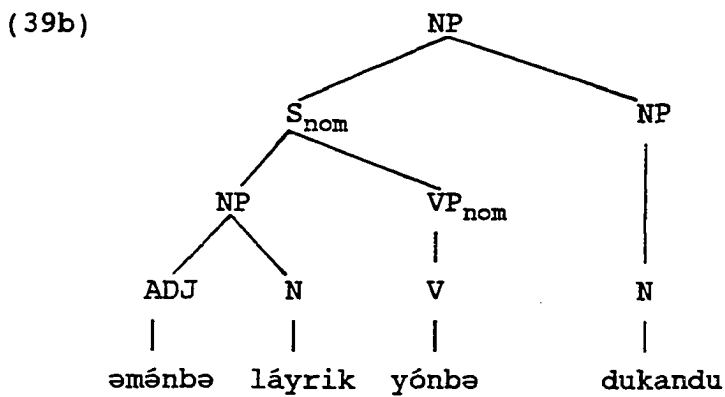
The translation for this sentence would be 'The old shop which sells books', if the structure is as in (39c). The adjective əmə́nbə is moved to the left of the relative clause to derive the surface structure given in (39a).

(39c)


```
                              NP
                    _____/  _____
                   /                    \
                 S_nom                    NP
                /    \                    /  \
               /      \                  /    \
             NP       VP_nom           AdjP    N
             |         |                |      |
             N         V                |      |
             |         |                |      |
          láyrik     yónbə            əmə́nbə  dukandu
```
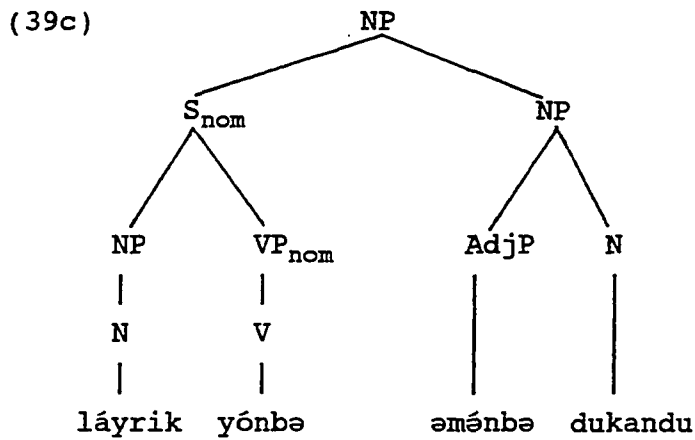
6.1.2.6 Combining RCs and coreference

When two RCs refer to the same relativized NP, the RCs can be juxtaposed; such juxtaposition indicates a conjoining of the two RCs. In this case the relativized NP appears just once at the end of the conjoined structure.

(40a) əy əhə́ləmə   ŋə́si yámnə   pəysa   páybə

      əy ə -hə́l ə -mə   ŋə́si yám-nə   pəysa   páy -pə

      I att-old att-one   today lot-adv   money   hold-nom

      I parents   today very   money   holding

      inakkhunbə   sound óybə   kaŋbu   nətte

      inakkhun-pə   sound óy-pə   kaŋ-pu   nətte

      rich   -nom   sound be-nom   group-ADVR   not

      being rich   sound being   type not   not

      My parents are not the type who have a lot of
      money, who are rich, who are reliable...   RSS115

However, if an overt conjunction appears between the

two RCs, the RCs cannot refer to same NP. For example, compare (40b) and (40c): (40b) refers to two separate groups of girls, those who dance and those who drink; in (40c) however, the two RCs refer to the same group of girls.

(40b)

səŋgóm	thə́klibə			əməsuŋ		həyeŋ	jagoy
sən-khóm	thə́k	-li	-pə	ə	-mə -su	həyeŋ	jagoy
cow-udder	drink-prog-nom			att-one-ALSO		tomorrow	dance milk
who is drinking				and		tomorrow	dance

ságədəwribə				
sá	-kə	-təw	-li	-pə
dance-pot-oblg-prog-nom				
who will be dancing				

nupiməcasiŋdu					əygi	mərupni
nu	-pi	-mə	-ca	-siŋ-tu	əy-ki	mərup-ni
person-fem-one-small-pl				-ddet	I-gen	friend-COP
those girls					my	friends are

The girls who drink milk and who will be dancing tommorrow are my friends. HM24.43.8

(40c) həyeŋ   jagoy   ságədəwribə

      həyeŋ   jagoy   sá   -kə -təw -li   -pə

      tomorrow dance   dance-pot-cert-prog-nom

      tomorrow dance   who will be dancing dance

      səŋgóm   thəklibə   nupi

      sən-khóm   thək -li -pə   nu   -pi

      cow-udder drink-prog-nom   person-fem

      milk   who are drinking female

      məcasiŋdu   əygi   mərupni

      mə -ca   -siŋ-tu   əy-ki mərup-ni

      one-small-pl-ddet   I -gen friend-COP

      those small ones   my   friends are

      Those girls who will be dancing tomorrow and are

      drinking milk are my friends.   HM24.43.9

Of course, one RC may be embedded within another.

(40d) Merinə   sábə   kek čákhibə

      Meri-nə   sá -pə kek čá-khi   -pə

      Mary-CNTR   hot-nom cake eat-still-nom

      Mary   baking cake eating

      nipádo   əygi   mərupni

      nipá-tu   əy-ki mərup -ni

      male-ddet I -gen friend-COP

      he,   my   friend is

      The man who ate the cake which Mary baked is my

      friend.   HM24.45.1

(40e) Mənipur universitigi   gesthoski
      Mənipur universiti-ki   gesthos   -ki
      Manipur university-gen   guest house-gen
      of Manipur university   of the guest house

      rum   numbər təradəgi   purəkpə
      rum   numbər təra-təgi   pu   -lək -pə
      room number 13   -abl   carry-dist-nom
      room number 13   from   which was brought

      láyriktu   ŋəraŋ   ləyrəkpə   tebəl
      láyrik-tu   ŋəraŋ   ləy-lək   -pə   tebəl
      book -ddet   yesterday buy-dist-nom   table
      that book   yesterday which was bought   table

      məthəktə   thə́mməmbə   ŋəsi əyúk
      mə-thək-tə   thə́m -ləm-pə   ŋəsi ə -yúk
      nm-top -loc   place-evd-nom   today att-early
      on top of   which was placed   today earlier

      lakləmbə   nupádo
      lak -ləm -pə   nu   -pá   -tu
      come-evd-nom   person-male-ddet
      who came   that boy

```
əygi    inəw    nupági            mərupni
əy-ki   i -nəw   nu    -pá  -ki    mərup -ni
I -gen  1P-new  person-male-gen   friend-COP
my      younger brother's    friend is
```

The boy who brought this book from room number 13 of
the Manipur University Guest House who kept the book
on the table which was bought yesterday who came this
morning is my younger brother's friend.   HM24.64.2

6.1.3 Specialized verbs which subcategorize for nominalized clauses

A nominalized clause fills the argument strcuture of
certain verbs which contribute aspectual or modal meaning
to that clause. For example, the verb hə́wbə 'to start' can
be used to indicate the intiation of an action.

```
(41a)   əy čábə     hə́wre
        əy čá -pə  hə́w  -lə -e
        I   eat-nom start-pro-asrt
        I   to eat  started
        I started eating an apple.         Prb.Q17.30
```

Other such verbs have adverbial meaning: these include yáŋ
'fast', tə́p 'slow', and mɔ́n 'too slow'.

```
(41b) Rajannə     Tombədəgisu      hénnə      wáŋŋí
      Rajan-nə    Tombə-təgi-su    hén -nə    wáŋ-í
      Rajan-CNTR  Tomba-abl -ALSO  more-adv   tall-nhyp
      Raja        from Tomba also  more       is tall
      Rajan is taller than Chaoba.                   HM11.101d
```

As shown in (41c) the verb **lóy** 'to finish' can be used to indicate the end of some action that has been carried on for some time or is carried out habitually.

```
(41c) má Dili    čə́tpə  lóyre
      má Delhi   čə́t-pə lóy   -lə -e
      he Delhi   go-nom finish-pro-asrt
      he Delhi   to go  going to be finished
      His trips to Delhi are going to be over.
```

```
(41d) má Dili    čə́tpə  lóydri
      má Delhi   čə́t-pə lóy   -tə -li
      he Delhi   go-nom finish-neg-prog
      he Delhi to go  is not finished
      He will go more and more often to Delhi. HM18.37.2b
```

In some instances, the verb has taken on an extented meaning so that a verb like **phábə** 'to arrest/to catch/ to tie' is used to signify the completion of an action or the full attainment of a state (see (41e)). In (41f) the verb **kábə** 'roast to a burn' is used to indicate that an action has been performed to excess.

```
(41e)                              (41f)
láysábi          fáre              lakpə      káre
láy-sá -pi phá -lə -e             lak -pə ká    -lə  -e
god-body-fem catch-perf-asrt       come-nom roast-perf-asrt
virign           completed         to come  roasted
She has grown up.                  He overstayed his welcome.
HM18.37.5b                         HM18.39.4b
```

Such verbs may also function to indicate modality. For example, the verb tabə 'to fall' is used to indicate an action that is compelled to come about.

```
(41g) ŋəsi  má phubə     tare
      ŋəsi  má phu -pə ta -lə -e
      today he beat-nom fall-pro-asrt
      today he to beat  will fall out
      Today he is going to be be beaten.
```

The verb yá 'possible' is used to indicate mild possibility of an action will take or may have taken place or a state will or may have beeen attained.

```
(41h) ŋəsi  má Delhi  čə́tpə    yáy
      ŋəsi  má Delhi  čə́t-pə yá      -í
      today he Delhi  go -nom possible-nhyp
      today he Delhi  to go   is possible
      Today it is possible that he go to Delhi.
                                        HM18.37.4a.
```

The verb mán 'seems' can be used to indicate a probability based on indirect evidence.

```
(41i) čəhi əməgi        óyrə  máne
      čəhi ə -mə -ki  óy-lə  má       -ne
      year att-one-gen be-pro resemble-SI
      year of one       be     seems
      It seems its going to be for one year.      RSS22
```

Because of the implication that the speaker has indirect information about the probablity of the actor performing some V, the question of knowledge is irrelevant with 1st person actors. This is reflected in the fact that use of mán is not possible with sentences that have present tense readings and first person actors.

The verb ŋəm 'can' is used to indicate the extent of the ability of the actor for some action to be performed.

```
(42)  məhak    Hindi pábə     ŋəmmí
      mə-hak   Hindi pá -pə   ŋəm-í
      3P-here  Hindi read-nom can-nhyp
      he       Hindi to read  can
      He can read Hindi.                    HM18.37.1a
```

The verb óy 'to be' can be used to indicate a dersire for some V or state to come about:

```
(43)
ishornə     néŋbu    thəwjan pibə      óysinnu
ishor-nə    néŋ-pu   thəw-can pi -pə   óy-sin-u
god   -CNTR you -pat duty-let give-nom be-in -imp
god         you      please  to give  may it be
May god bless you.                          HM11.113d.
```

The verb <u>óy</u> 'to be' appears with <u>dərkar</u> 'duty' (a loan word from Hindi) in the lexcalized form <u>dərkar óy</u> 'to need to, to be responsible for'.

(44) nə́ŋ čə́tpə dəgaóy

nə́ŋ čə́t-pə dərkar óy

you go-nom duty is

you to go necessity is

It is necessary for you to do.   HM24.111.21

The verb <u>phə́</u> 'good' can be used to indicate a desire for a future action.

(45) əykhoy ənisu čə́tpə phə́y

əy-khoy ə -ni-su čə́t-pə phə -í

I -pl att-two-ALSO go -nom good-nhyp

we two also to go is good

It is better if the two of us go.   JB15.55.3a

6.2 Complementation

As reflected in phrase structure rule (46), the argument of V may be a subordinated sentence.

(46a)   S   →   S′ V

(46b)   S′   → S_{nom} (COMP)

(46c)   S′   →   S   QUOT

The category COMP in (46b), consists of two complementizers: the nominalizer (<u>-pə</u>) and complementizers derived from determiners (<u>-pəsi</u>, <u>-pədu</u>). The category QUOT in phrase structure rule (46c) refers to quotatives which

are used to subordinate finite clauses (those with phrase final inflection); sentence-quotative sequences function as complements. Complementation carried out through these formally varied means will be the topic of the remainder of this section. The choice that a speaker makes between which type of complementation to utlize is a function of the evidential value that a speaker wishes to place on that complement. These distributional facts are discussed in Chapter 11.

As noted above, the nominalizer -pǝ is suffixed to a verb to form nominal complements (hereafter INFCOMP). This is illustrated in (47). As will be seen in the following discussion, the remaining complementizer types are all based on INFCOMP, -pǝ.

(47) ǝynǝ   cenbǝ   táppí
     ǝy-nǝ   cen-pǝ   táp -í
     I-CNTR run-nom slow-nhyp
     I   to run slow
     I run slowly.   BN4.40.2a

The nominal complement may also occur as a copulative sentence as in (48):

(48) phurittu   ǝŋawbǝni
     phurit-tu   ǝ -ŋaw -pǝ -ni
     shirt -ddet att-white-nom-COP
     the shirt   is white   HM24.126.5b

The determiners -si 'proximal' and -tu 'distal', are also used as COMPs when they appear as heads of nominalized

clauses (these complementizers will hereafter be called
DETCOMP). (49) is an example, further examples can be
found in section 11.2.

(49)

mánə	isiŋ	thəkpədu	əynə	khə́mmí	
má-nə	i -siŋ	thək -pədu	əy-nə	khə́m-lə	-í
he-CNTR	water-pl	drink-dcomp	I -CNTR	stop-perf-nhyp	
him	water that	drinking	I	stopped	

I stopped him from drinking water. MD119

The quotative, based on the verb <u>háy</u> 'say' can also be
used as a complementizer to form a complement from a
nominalized claus. Complementizers based on the quotative
(hereafter referred to as QCOMP) can occur as:[3]

---

[3] The quotative <u>háy</u> 'say' is especially prone to being
shortened or deleted thereby causing the quotative to merge
with the preceding word phonologically. I call this
phenomena Quotative swallowing (QS). QS might involve the
deletion of the initial laryngeal of the quotative as shown
in example (i and ii). Note that in (ii) intervocalic <u>r</u>
has also been deleted). The entire quotative may be
deleted with a glottal stop marking the place of the
deleted stem as in (iii and iv)

(27a) kəmáynə   (27b) yúmbanbə́ydudi
      kərəm háy-nə   yúm -pan -pə háy-pədu-ti
      how   say-adv   house-rule-nom say-dcomp-DLMT
      how was it that   it is what is called household
      HM14.61.18   management   HM.HH.6a

(27c) čille?bə   (27d) lakke?bə

50. háybə   ((QUOT) with the nominalizer -pə)
51. háybəsi ((QUOT) with the DETCOMP -pəsi)
52. háybədu ((QUOT) with the DETCOMP -pədu)
53. háynə   ((QUOT) with the the adverbial marker -nə)

The use of these COMPs is illustrated in (54). Further examples are provided in section 11.2.1.3.

(54)   məhaknə   thoyre
       ᶆə-hak-nə   thoy -lə -e
       3P-here-CNTR   first-perf-asrt
       she   had won

       háybəsi   Tombinə   khəŋɲí
       háy-pəsi Tombi-nə   khəŋ-í
       say-dcomp Tombi-CNTR know -nhyp
       this   Tombi   knew
       Tombi knew that she had won.

As seen in (55) (which is not a direct quote), the complement ŋəsi lakkəni, is not headed by an overt complementizer.

       čil -lə -e   háy-pə   lak -ke háy-pə
       spend-perf-ASRT say-nom   come-OPT say-nom
       that (she) was busy   that (he) wants to come

(55) məhak   nəsi   lakkəni   háy
      mə-hak   ŋəsi   lak -kə -ni   háy-î
      3P-here today   come-pot-COP   say-nhyp
      he   today   will come   said
      He said that he would come today.   HM24.105.5

The zero COMP is present only with verbs of saying and is discussed further in section 11.2.1.3.2.

The most common orders for DETCOMP constructions are as in (56) where the complement is initial and the main clause follows. DETCOMPs may also be embedded between the actor and verb of the main clause as seen in (57).

(56) [[V] DETCOMP] NP V
      Tombinə   čádəbəsi   Ramnə   pámmí
      Tombi-nə   čá -tə -pəsi   Ram-nə   pám-î
      Tombi-CNTR   eat-neg-dcomp   Ram-CNTR   like-nhyp
      Tombi   this not eating   Ram   likes
      Ram doesn't like Tombi's eating.   HM24.156.9b

(57) NP [[V]--DETCOMP] V
      Ramnə   Tombibu   čádəbəsi   pámmí
      Ram-nə   Tombi-pu   čá -tə -pəsi   pám -î
      Ram-CNTR   Tombi-pat   eat-neg-dcomp   like-nhyp
      Ram   Tombi   this not eating   want
      Ram doesn't want Tombi to eat.   HM24.156.9a

However, it is not possible for a DETCOMP complement to

occur sentence finally:

(58) *Ramnə   pámmí   Tombibu   čádəbəsi
       Ram-nə   pám -í   Tombi-pu   čá -tə -pəsi
       Ram-CNTR   like-nhyp Tombi-pat eat-neg-dcomp
       Ram   likes   Tombi   this not eating
       Ram doesn't like Tombi's eating.   HM24.156.9b

Complements headed by QCOMP show more flexibility in word order. As seen in (59), the QCOMP complement can occur embedded between the actor and main verb, or as in (60), the QCOMP can occur sentence initially.

(59) Johnə   Tombə   čə́tkhre
       John-nə   Tombə   čə́t-khi -lə -e
       John-CNTR Tomba   go -still-perf-asrt
       John   Tomba   went

       háybəsi   niŋsiŋləmmí
       háy-pəsi   niŋ -siŋ-ləm-í
       say-dcomp wish-gpl-evd-nhyp
       that   remembered
       John remembered that Tomba went.

(60) Tombə čə́tkhre háybəsi jonnə niŋsiŋləmmi   HM24.138.3

QCOMP complements might also occur sentence finally as in (61).

```
(61)   Actor Verb   [   ]   COMP
       əy khəŋde            məhak    skul
       əy khəŋ-tə -e        mə-hak   skul
       I  know -neg-asrt 3P-here school
       I  not know         he       school

       čə́tkhre             háybə
       čə́t-khi -lə -e      háy-pə
       go -still-perf-asrt say-nom
       school gone          that
       I didn't know that he had gone to school.   YS27.77a
```

Both (59) and (61) are common orders with QCOMP complements in texts, (60) appears mostly in elicited data and is most likely a direct translation of the English sentence.

6.3 Adverbial clauses

Sentences may be modified by adverbial clauses which occur in sentence initial position. This is reflected in the phrase structure rule (62):

(62)   S → (AdvP) NP* V

Adverbial clauses are structurally full sentences. They are formed through suffixing a clausal subordinator to a nominalized verb or complement. This structure is refelcted in (63) and (64).

(63)   AdvP   →   S' CS
(64)   AdvP   →   S QUOT

CS stands for the set of clausal subordinators of which there are three types: case markers, the adverbial marker and lexical subordinators. The second phrase strucure rule refelcts the fact that quotatives may also be used to form adverbial clauses. In this case the clausal subordinator occurs on the quotative.

6.3.1 Case markers as clausal subordinators

Clausal subordinators may be derived from either the locative, genitive, associative or ablative case markers. This use of case markers exhibits a syncretism that is common for Tibeto-Burman languages (noted by Konow (1909:9) and discussed in detail for 26 languages of the family by Genetti (1988).

6.3.1.1 The locative marker

The locative marker -tə may be suffixed to a nominalized verb, such as lakpə 'to come' in (65), to indicate a time clause with the meaning 'when V, upon V'.

(65)   néŋgi   neča   aykhoyde
       néŋ-ki   ne-ča   ay-khoy-te
       you -gen 2P-small   I -pl   -loc
       your   sister   to our place

       lakpede   ayne   čák čáhankhí
       lak -pe-te   ay-na   čák čá -han -khi -í
       come-nom-loc   I -CNTR rice eat-cause-still-nhyp
       when coming   I   rice caused to eat
       When your sister came to our place I fed her.   ‾
                                              GR12.12

6.3.1.2 The genitive marker

The   genitive   marker   -ki   may   be   suffixed   to   a
nominalized verb, such as tewbe 'to do' to indicate a
purpose clause meaning 'for the purpose of Ving'.

(66)   thebaktu   tewbegi   lupa   lisiŋ
       thebak-tu   tew-pe -ki   lupa   lisiŋ
       work   -ddet   do -nom-gen   rupees 1000
       the work   for those who do money 1000

       meri   emesu   píkhi   háybeni
       me-li   e -me -su   pí -khi   háy-pe -ni
       nm-four   att-one-ALSO give-still say-nom-COP
       four   also one   gave   that
       '...I have heard that he also paid Rs.4000 to get
       his job...'   eMUK105

The nominalized phrase suffixed by -ki can also have
the meaning, 'from that Ving, concerning Ving'.

(67)

nán	čák	čárəbəgi			čəybidrəbəni					
nán	čák	čá -ləbə	-ki		čəy	-pi	-tə	-lə	-pə	-ni
you	rice	eat-having-gen			scold-rec-neg-pro-nom-COP					
you	rice	from having eaten			have not yet scolded					

I didn't scold you since you haven't eaten yet.

<div align="right">Prb.Q305</div>

6.3.1.3 The associative marker

The associative marker -kə can be used to form an adverbial clause to indicate a temporal sequence of events where the subordinated verb indicates the first event and the main verb the second. A cause and effect relationship between the first and second event is not strongly implied. The V-pəgə sequence can be translated as 'when V'.

(68)

baji	tolop	phəŋbəgə	ləw	čəttoybə
baji	tolop	phəŋ-pə -kə	ləw	čət-toy-pə
father	salary	find-nom-ass	take	go -ness-nom
father	salary	when gets	take	will go

'...when my father gets his salary then I'll need to take the money (over there).'

<div align="right">RFC1.7</div>

The suffixation of -kə to a nominalized phrase might also indicate two simultaneous actions:

(69)

əynə	láyriktu	hék	páybəgə		má laʔí
əy-nə	láyrik-tu	hék	páy -pə-kə		má lak -lə -í
I -CNTR	book -ddet	just	hold-nom-ass		he come-perf-nhyp
I	the book	just	when carrying	he came

He came when I held the book.   HM24.86.5

(70)

má citi	irəgə			láyrəmmi
má citi	i	-lə -kə		láy-ləm-li
he letter	write-pro-ass			is -evd-prog
he letter	about to write	then	was there

He was there, about to write a letter.   HM10.2

As seen in (70), the nominalizer -pə which serves to nominalize the phrase may be omitted so that the associative marker -kə is directly suffixed on the verb. An adverbial clause headed by -kə may also be suffixed by the adverbial marker -nə to indicate 'when V, then.'

(71)	má	čə́tləgənə		nə́ŋ	láyhəwro
	má	čə́t-lə -kə -nə		nə́ŋ	láy-həw -lə-o
	she	go -pro-ass-adv		you	be -start-INT-SOLCT
	she	when goes, then	you	will you remain, tell me

When she goes, will you please stay.   JB15.60.2

6.3.1.4 The ablative marker

The ablative marker -təgi can be used to form a subordinate clause which gives an explantion for a current state that has just come into being. It can be translated as 'resulting from V'.

(72) nə́ŋnə   páybədəgi   láyriksi
      nə́ŋ-nə   páy -pə -təgi   láyrik-si
      you-CNTR   hold-nom-abl   book -pdet
      you   from carrying   this book

      ségaybə   háwre
      sé -khay-pə   háw -lə -e
      tear-cut -nom   start-pro-asrt
      to tear   is going to start
      This book is going to start tearing from your
      carrying it.   HM24.87.1

As noted by Devi (1979:196), -təgi may also be used to
compare two clauses:

(73)
mánə   čə́tpəsi   əynə   cenbədəgi   hénnə   thúy
má-nə   čə́t-pəsi   əy-nə   cen-pə -təgi hén -nə   thú -í
he-CNTR   go-dcomp   I-CNTR run-nom-abl more-adv   fast-nhyp
he   that going I   from running more   is fast
His walking is faster than my running.   PD196.1c

6.3.2 Suffixation of the adverbial marker -nə

Adverbial clauses may also be formed by suffixing the
adverbial marker -nə to:

74. Nominalized clauses   77. -ni nominals
75. Verbs   78. Nouns
76. Adverbial clauses   79. Subordinated complements

6.3.2.1 -nə on a nominalized clauses

The adverbial marker may be suffixed to a nominalized clause to indicate a reason clause where the consequence of the action in the subordinated clause is commented on in the main clause.

(80a)

hótnədəbənə
hótnə-tə -pə -nə
try -neg -nom-adv
due to not trying
HM11.107

(80b)

má cenbənə   phə́y
má cen-pə -nə   phə́ -ĭ
he run-nom-adv   good-nhyp
he due to running   is good
                         It is good for him to run.
Devi188.9b

6.3.2.2 -nə on a verb

The adverbial subordinator -nə́bə is suffixed to verbs to indicate a purpose clause. -nə́bə is a lexicalized combination of the adverbial marker -nə and the nominalizer -pə. Evidence that this is a lexicalized sequence comes from the fact that non-nominalized forms of transitive verbs are never suffixed by the adverbial marker productively.[4] Secondly, in these lexicalized sequences,

---

[4] There are a few verb roots that must occur with the adverbial marker. Although the verb roots in question may have had a meaning without the adverbial marker in a previous stage of the language, they no longer do. In these cases, the V-nə sequence is treated as single lexicalized unit.

no morphology may intervene between the adverbial marker and nominalizer. As discussed in Chapter 2, this lexicalized sequence is phonologically distinguished from the productive sequence -nə 'reciprocal' + -pə 'nominalizer' in that -nə́bə is treated as a lexical item with H tone. -nə́bə can be translated as 'for Ving'.

(81a) əy drama yéŋnə́bə   čə́tləmme
      əy drama yéŋ-nə́bə   čə́t-ləm-lə -e
      I drama see -in order to go -evd-perf-asrt
      I drama to see   went
      I went there to see the drama.   HM12.35

(81b) əy tumnə́bə   sém   sáre
      əy tum -nə́bə   sém   sá -lə -e
      I sleep-in order prepare   make-perf-asrt
      I to sleep   preparations made
      I made the preparations for sleeping.   HM11.136e

---

i. hotnəbə   ii. kánnəbə
    hotnə-pə   kánnə -pə
    try -nom   utilize-nom
    to try (*hotpə   to utilize
    with this meaning)   (*kanbə with this
                                    meaning)

A clause subordinated by ‑nə́bə may be followed by the genitive case marker:

(82)   čárunə́bəgini
      čá ‑lu ‑nə́bə   ‑ki ‑ni
      eat‑adir‑in order‑gen‑COP
      I am going there to eat. (Lit: I am going there
      in order for eating)   JB25.179.2

The adverbial marker may be suffixed to a non‑nominalized verb to indicate a cause clause:

(83)   pəysə lə́ytrinə   pídri
      pəysə lə́y‑tə ‑li ‑nə   pí ‑tə ‑li
      pəysə be ‑neg‑prog‑adv   give‑neg‑prog
      money beacuse (I) do not have did not give
      Because they did not have the money, that is w h y
      they haven't given.   RSS18

6.3.2.3 ‑nə on subordinator derived from a case marker

As noted above, a clause subordinated by the locative marker indicates a time clause meaning 'when V, upon V'. When such a clause is followed by the adverbial marker ‑nə, the meaning 'at the time of Ving, then', is obtained.

(84)

```
skul    kabədənə              əynə    láyrik púy
skul    ka    -pə -tə -nə     əy-nə   láyrik pu    -í
school  attend-nom-loc-adv    I -CNTR book   carry-nhyp
school  when attending        I       book   carry
When I go to school I carry my books.            HM11.108
```

6.3.2.4 -nə on -ni nominals

Any subordinated clause can be made a predicate with the suffixation of the copula -ni. For example in (85), the purpose clause, indicated by təwrəmbəgi 'for doing', is made into a copulative sentence with the suffixation of -ni.

```
(85)    sadhəbiget   əsábə                 páyrəgə
        sadhəbiget   ə  -sá -pə            páy -ləgə
        certificate  att-hot-nom           hold-after
        certificate  being duplicate       having secured


        thəbək  təwrəmbəgini          háyye
        thəbək  təw-ləm-pə -ki -ni    háy-ye
        work    do -evd-nom-gen-COP   say-CONFM
        work    is for doing that     have been told that
        '...they say that he bought a false B.A. certificate
        in order to secure work in the government...'əMUK99
```

A copulative sentence can indicate a pre-existing reason for a current state of affairs when it is further suffixed by the adverbial marker -nə. Literally the concatenation V-bə-ni-nə has the meaning 'this N is, so' and is used to mean 'because of Ving.'

(86) láyriktu   Tombənə   pubəninə
      láyrik-tu   Tombə-nə   pu -pə -ni -nə
      book -ddet   Tomba-CNTR carry-nom-COP-adv
      the book   Tomba   because (he) is having it

      kərisu   mánˌloy
      kəri-su   mán-loy
      what-ALSO   loss-npot
      whatever   will not be lost
      Since the book is with Tomba there is no fear of it
      being misplaced.   HM11.112a

Whereas <u>V-ninə</u> refers to a pre-existing state, <u>V-təgi</u>
refers to a recently attained state. This is illustrated
by opposing <u>V-ninə</u> in (87) with <u>V-təgi</u> in (88).

(87)
məhak   múbəninə   thoybə   ŋəmdre
mə-hak   mú -pə -ni -nə   thoy -pə   ŋəm-tə -lə   -e
3P-here   black-nom-COP-adv   first-nom   can -neg-perf-asrt
she   since being black   to win   not possible
Since she is dark, she couldn't win (the beauty contest).
                                                   HM11.139d
(88)
nuŋsádə   yámnə   phə́mbədəgi   músəndə́nə
nuŋ-sá -tə   yám -nə   phə́m -pə -təgi   mú   -sən-tə́nə
in -hot-loc   much-adv   place-nom-abl   black-in -by
in the sun   a lot   from sitting   being black

```
məhaknə          thoybə    ŋəmdre
mə-hak -nə       thoy -pə  ŋəm-tə -lə -e
3P-here-CNTR     first-nom able-neg-pro-asrt
she              to win    not able
```

Since she got tanned from sitting in the sun a lot,
she was not going to win (the beauty contest).   HM11.139e

6.3.2.5 -nə on nouns

The adverbial marker can be suffixed to a noun to create a cause clause which signals the meaning 'because of this N'.

(89) nóŋnəra
      nóŋ-nə -rə
      rain-adv-INT
      Is it because of the rain?   HM25.6b.1

6.3.3 Subordinated complements

We have seen that adverbial clauses can be derived from nominalized clauses with the suffixation of subordinating case markers. Complements can also occur within an adverbial clause: V-pədu or V-pəsi complements can be followed by a case marker or an adverbial marker to indicate an adverbial phrase. For example, in (90) the locative marker -tə is used with the DETCOMP signalling the meaning 'at that going'.

(90)

nəkhoynə	čə́tpədudə	əysu	yáwge
nə-khoy-nə	čə́t-pədu -tə	əy-su	yáw -ke
2P-pl-CNTR	go -dcomp-loc	I -ALSO	participate-opt
you all	at that going	I too	will participate

When you go, let me go too. (Lit: At that going of
yours...) HM24.91.7

In (91), the ablative marker -təgi appears with DETCOMP to
mark a reason clause.

(91)

kloj	təwrəmbədudəydi	Dimapurdə
kloj	təw-ləm-pədu -təgi-ti	Dimapur-tə
close	do -seq-dcomp-abl -DLMT	Dimapur-loc
close	from that fact	to Dimapur

sit	khərə	háŋŋe
seat	khərə	háŋ -lə -e
seat	some	empty-perf-asrt
seat	some	were empty

From the fact that it was closed, at Dimapur there
were some seats empty. RSS100

Finally, the adverbial marker can be suffixed to a DETCOMP
to signal the meaning, 'by that V'.

(92)

púŋ	tərəmikaydəgi	léppəkpəduni
púŋ	təra-mə -khay-təgi	lép -lək -pədu -nə
time	ten -one-half-abl	stop-dist-dcomp-adv
hour	from 10 :30 onwards	because of that stopping

púŋ	tərəmathoy	məkhay	barobhaw	léppe
púŋ	təra-mə -thoy	mə-khay	baro -phaw	lép -lə -e
time	ten -one-first	nm-half	12 -uptil	stop-perf-asrt
hour	eleven	half	uptil 12	stopped

Then we were waiting for a vehicle from 11:30 to
12:00.   RSS86

6.3.4 Adverbial Participials

Adverbial clauses can be opposed to adverbial
participials. Whereas an adverbial clause is a
subordinated sentence, the participial is either a verb or
verb phrase that is used as a verbal modifier. An
important difference between adverbial clauses and
participials is that the participializers are
morphologically complex, lexicalized units. There are four
participializers:

1. V-ténə 'as a consequence of Ving, by Ving'
2. V-túnə 'doing V'
3. V-ləgə 'after V'
4. V-lə́bə 'having Ved'

As discussed in section 2.3, the lexicalized units are
treated as phonological words with stem tone; all four of
these participializers have high tone.

6.3.4.1 V-tə́nə

The participializer -tə́nə (composed of the locative marker -tə and the adverbial marker -nə), can be affixed directly to a verb giving the meaning, 'as a consequence of Ving, by Ving'. The proposition in the main clause is seen as the result of action described in the subordinated clause.

(93)

```
kərəmnə     nə́mdə́nə    təmhəngədəwribəno
kərəm-nə    nə́m -tə́nə  təm    -hən-kə -təw -li   -pə -no
how    -adv force-by  learn-caus-pot-oblg-prog-nom-INQ
how          by force  should cause to learn, do you know
How can (the teachers) force the students (who don't
want to study), to learn?                          əMUK43
```

(94)

```
čǎk  čǎrədə́nə        sǎwbə          phə́re
čǎk  čǎ -lə  -tə́nə  sǎw -pə        phə́-lə   -e
rice eat-perf-by      anger-nom      good-pro-asrt
rice since eating    to be angry    is better
Since I've eaten, I am not going to be angry any more.
                                                   Prb.Q311
```

In participials, the option of using just the locative marker on the verb (i.e. *V-tə) is not possible; -tə́nə must be used as a unit. Thus, the concatenation of -tə́nə is not a productive process as with adverbial clauses.

6.3.4.2 Vtúnə

V-tə́nə can be opposed to V-túnə (composed of the distance determiner -tu and the adverbial marker -nə). Again, -túnə is glossed as a single unit since neither *V-tu or *V-nə are possible. Vtúnə indicates that the occurrence of the action described in the participial and in the main verb, partially or fully overlap in time. Also, glossing this sequence as single unit allows it to be differentiated from the identical productive sequence which occurs with nominals (i.e. N-tu-nə where -tu is the distance determiner and -nə is the contrastive marker). Compare (95) and (96):

(95) hə́nubədunə

      hə́n-nu   -pə -tu -nə

      old-person-nom-ddet-CNTR

      that old man

(96) əy mági mətuŋ   indúnə   laʔí

      əy má-ki mə -tuŋ in   -túnə lak -í

      I   he-gen nm-behind follow-ing come-nhyp

      I   of him behind   following came

      I followed him.   HM25.139.8

Native speakers will often say that V-tə́nə and Vtúnə are interchangeable. This is because the simultaneity of subordinate and main verb action indicated by Vtúnə can be inclusive of the meaning indicated by V-tə́nə. That is, in addition to the two events occuring at the same time, the action described in the main verb may also be a consequence of the action described in the subordinated verb. An

example of this is given in (97).

(97) má sənnə   waydúnə   ture
      má sən-nə   way túnə   tu -lə -e
      he cow-CNTR   gore-ing   fall-perf-asrt
      he by the cow having been gored   had fallen
      Having been gored by the cow, he had fallen.

<div align="right">HM25.139.20</div>

Here the action of the cow not only occurs simultaneously
with the falling of the man but is the cause for the man's
falling.

6.3.4.3 V-ləgə

The perfect aspect marker -lə and the associative
marker -kə combine to form the participalizer -ləgə 'after
Ving'. This lexicalized sequence should be distinguished
from the productive sequence V-lə-kə (V-prospective-
associative) 'when/if V' which is discussed in section
6.3.1.3. In the non-lexicalized sequence the nominalizer
may intervene between the aspect marker and the
subordinator (i.e. carəbəgə 'when we have eaten)) but this
is not possible with the participial.

(98)
məhak   sel   khərə púrəgə   čə́tkhre
mə-hak   sel   khərə pú   -ləgə   čə́t-khi -lə -e
3P-here   money some borrow-after   go -still-perf-asrt
he   money some having borrowed left
He left after borrowing some money.   HM10.2.3

A clause translated as 'after Ving, then', is signified when the participial is suffixed by the adverbial marker -nə:

(99) pərikhə məya   yáwrəkləgənə
      pərikhya mə-ya   yáw -lək -ləgə -nə
      test   nm-near reach-dist-after-adv
      test   near   after the time has already come
      When the time of the exams have already drawn
      near...'   əMUK30c

6.3.4.4 V-lə́bə

The sequence -lə́bə (composed of the perfect marker -lə and the nominalizer -pə), is treated as a participial since unlike other subordinators it is a lexicalized sequence (bears high stem tone). It must be distinguished from the productive sequence -lə-pə which appears as the head of relative clauses as in (85) above or the sequence -lə-pə which is composed of the prospective aspect and nominalizer as in (71) above. The sequence -lə́bə means 'having Ved, become V'.

(100) əy warə́bə   má khəŋŋí
       əy wa   -lə́bə   má khəŋ-í
       I tired-having   he know -nhyp
       I become tired   he knows
       He knows that I have become tired.   MD171-204

6.3.5 Other subordinators

In addition to the use of case markers and the adverbial marker, subordinating can be accomplished with lexical items and enclitics.

6.3.5.1 The delimitative enclitic -ti

As discussed in Chapter 4, the delimitative -ti indicates that the suffixed constituent is chosen out of a group of possibilities. -ti can also be suffixed to a nominalized clause, to signify ' this Ving (as opposed to other possibilities)'.

(101) mánə   láyrik pábədi   mí táy
      má-nə   láyrik pá -pə-di   mí tá -í
      he-CNTR book   read-nom-DLMT   men hear-nhyp
      he   book this reading   men hear
      People hear that he reads books (and does nothing
      else).[5]   MD200.2b

When -ti is suffixed to a nominalized phrase in the prospective aspect it signals a hypothetical conditional clause meaning 'if this V'.

---

[5] According to Devi (1979: 200), this has two readings: 'People hear him reading (right now) and 'People hear that he reads (all the time).

(102)

```
həwaijar kayrəbədi              əygisu      píraku
həwaijar kay   -lə -pə -ti      əy-ki-su    pí  -lək -u
həwaijar unwrap-pro-nom-DLMT    I-gen-ALSO  give-dist-imp
soybean  if unwrap              for me too  give
```
If you unwrap the jar of fermented soyabean, give
me some too.   HM10.23

It is also possible to affix the delimitative marker
directly on the verb with no apparent change in meaning.


```
(103) gari       əmə      wáyrədi       phádəwni
      gari       ə  -mə   wáy -lə -ti   phá -təw -ni
      vehicle    att-one  hire-pro-DLMT good-oblg-COP
      vehicle    one      if hire       will be good
      It will be good if we hire a vehicle.       HM10.23
```

6.3.5.2 -su 'also'

The nominal enclitic -su 'also' when affixed to a
nominalized clause signals a concessive subordinate clause
meaning, 'even having Ved.'

(104) pərikhya pas təwrə́bəsu
      pərikhya pas təw-lə́bə -su
      test   pass do -having-ALSO
      test   pass even having done

      láyrikti   héytredə́nə
      láyrik-ti   héy   -tə -lə -e -tə́nə
      book   -DLMT proficient-neg-pro-asrt-by
      book   at that time are not proficient
      'So even when they pass the exams they are not
      proficient in anything...'   əMUK76b

6.3.5.3 Directional markers

A complement subordinated by one of the DETCOMP's can be used as an adverbial clause when it contains a directional marker. For example, in (105) below, čə́tlubədə 'on that going' contains the directional marker -lu, which signifies that the action has taken place somewhere away from the place of speech. Thus, with a first person actor, the action described in a verb with this directional marker must have been carried out before or after the speech event (since it is physically impossible for the speaker to be away from the place of speech performing an action and at the place of speech, speaking). Thus, the complement əynə inekhoydə čə́tlubədu gets the reading of a temporal clause embedded within a complement.

(105) əynə   inekḥoydə   čə́tlubədu

       əy-nə   ine -khoy-tə čə́t-lu -pədu

       I -CNTR aunt-pl -loc go -adir-dcomp

       I   to aunt's   on that going

       I   to my aunt's that when went

       čák   ŋaybə   ŋəmdrədúnə

       čák   ŋay-pə   ŋəm-tə -lə túnə

       rice   wait-nom can-neg-pro-ing

       rice   waiting   being unable

       When I went to my aunt's house, since I was not going
       to be able to wait... (she did not invite me to
       eat).   GR.Q27

     A yes-no interrogative can act as a hypothetical
conditional clause.

(106)

əŋáŋdu   isiŋdəgə   taləkprə   yéŋŋu

əŋáŋ-tu   isiŋ-tə -kə   ta -lək -pə -lə yéŋ-u

child-ddet water-loc-ass   fall-dist-nom-INT look-imp

that child with-in the water has (he) fallen   look

See if the child has fallen in the water.   HM25.38.1b

6.3.5.4 Lexical subordinators

It is also possible to mark an adverbial clause with an independent lexical item. For example, in (107) the word phəwbə 'uptil' is used to mark a concessive clause.

(107)

čák	čáw	háyrə́bə	pháwbə	čáǰədəbə
čák	čá -u	háy-lə́bə	pháw-pə	čá -čə -tə -pə
rice	eat-imp	say-having	upto-nom	eat-self-neg-nom
rice	eat	having said	even though	not eating

əyŋóŋdə	kərigi	čəy	háyribəno
əy-ŋóŋ-tə	kəri-ki	čəy	háy-li -pə -no
I -to -loc	what-gen	stick	say-prog-nom-INQ
to me	why	stick	you are saying

Even though every one said that I should eat, I did not eat, so why are you going around saying that I ate?

GR.Q28

Similary kan 'time' (borrowed from Hindi kal 'era'), along with the locative marker -tə can be used to signal a time adverbial phrase:

(108)

həwgətləkpə	kandə
həw -khət-lək -pə	kan -tə
start-up -dist-nom	time-loc
getting up	at that time
at the time of getting up	KK.544

Finally, the suffix -ŋəy 'during' (derived from the stem ŋay 'wait'), can be suffixed to a verb to give the

meaning 'when V':

(109)

əykhoynə	satrə	óyriŋəy	mətəmgə
əy-khoy-nə	satrə	óy-li -ŋəy	mə-təm -kə
I -they-cntr	student	be-prog-during	nm-time-ass
our	student	being	time also

'...between the time when we were students (and

now)...'   əMUK62d

-ŋəy can be used in conjunction with subordinating case markers to mark adverbial clauses. For example, ŋəy can be used with the locative marker to indicate that the action in the subordinated clause occurs simultaneuosly with the action in the main clause. Thus V-ŋəydə can be distinguished from V-pədə where the action in the main clause occurs subsequent to the action in the subordinated clause. V-ŋəydə can be translated as 'during V'. As shown in (110b) -ŋəy may also be used with the genitive marker -ki.

(110a)	(110b)
təwriŋŋəydə	məpókŋəygi
təw-li -ŋəy -tə	mə -pók -ŋəy -ki
do -prog-during-loc	nm-birth-during-gen
at the time of doing	from the time of birth onwards
Prb.Q42	KK16

Finally, <u>-ŋəy</u> can also seen in this formulaic beginning to traditional narratives:

(111) thayna   məməŋəydə
      thay-nə   mə-məŋ -ŋəy -tə
      long-adv nm-before-during-loc
      long   at previous time
      long ago   HH1

6.3.6 Summary and conclusion

Table 3 lists the facts discussed in this section.

Table 3: List of subordinating markers and their function

Subordinating suffix		Clause type	Notes on meaning
-tə	'locative'	temporal	upon V
-təgi	'ablative'	cause (immediate)	resulting from V
-kə	'associative'	temporal	when V
-ki	'genitive'	purpose	for the purpose cf
-nə	'adverbial'	reason	due to, for Ving
-ti	'delimitative'	comparative	this V opposed to all
-ləgə	'after'	temporal	after Ving
-lə́bə	'having'	temporal	having Ved
-nə́bə	'in order to'	purpose	for Ving
-ŋəydə	'during'	temporal	during V
-tə́nə	'-ing'	gerund	doing V
-tə́nə	'by'	cause	by Ving
-kandə	'time'	temporal	at the time of V
-phá́wbə	'uptil'	temporal	uptil V

6.4 The quotative used in the creation of adverbial phrases

I have shown how the QUOT can be used to form complements. The QUOT can also be used to subordinate a clause which presents (1) statements made by someone other

than the speaker and (2) statements about the desires, wishes, or intentions of someone other than the speaker. The morphology on the QUOT determines the exact clausal relationship between the clause subordinated by the QUOT and the main clause.

For example, the subordinator -pǝdǝ can be used with the QUOT háy, to present a statement, heard (directly, not reported to speaker by some third party), by the speaker. The statement is evaluated by the speaker as being true. háybǝdǝ can be translated as 'according to what he/she/I say...'

(112) manǝ   háybǝdǝ   garidu
      ma-nǝ   háy-pǝ -tǝ   gari   -tu
      he-CNTR   say-nom-loc   vehicle-ddet
      he   according to that that bus

      čǝ́tkhre   háy
      čǝ́t-khi -lǝ   -e   háy-î
      go -still-perf-asrt say-nhyp
      has gone   said
      He says that the bus has already gone (and I believe him since he is still here and was supposed to be on that bus).   HM14.16

The subordinated clause can be a nominalized clause as in (112) above, or a subordinate clause as seen in (113).

```
(113) niŋthəwse      háy háynə   háybədə
      niŋ -thəw-si    háy háy-nə  háy-pə-tə
      wish-work-pdet  say say-adv say-nom-loc
      the king        say that    accordingly
      'The king said thus that...'              LAYBəK20
```

The patient marker -pu, which is used to link-up two mentions of the same constituent in an extended discourse, can also be used with the QUOT to subordinate a report. Here again, the speaker indicates a belief in the subordinated statement.

```
(114) mánə       háybəbu         garidu       yámnə
      má-nə       háy-pəbu        gari  -tu    yám -nə
      he-CNTR     say-regarding   vehicle-ddet very-adv
      he          regarding that  that car     very


      phə́ri      háy
      phə́  -li   háy-í
      good-prog  say-nhyp
      good       said
      But about what he said, he told me that the car is in
      good condition.                                HM14.16b
```

The QUOT may also be used with -ninə the subordinator, to indicate a causal relationship between a statement or an opinion held and some resulting action. háybəninə can be translated as 'since he/she/I say...'

(115)   nupá   ədudə   sen   pîkho

nu   -pá   ə -tu -tə   sen   pî -khi -o

person-mas att-ddet-loc   money give-still-SOLCT

person   that   money give him

háybəninə   məráybəkphə́bə

háy-pə -ni -nə   mə -láy-pək-phə́-pə

say-nom-COP-adv   nm -god-get-good-nom

as told   fortunate

dolaypabədu   ədudə

dolay -pa -pə -tu   ə -tu -tə

chariot-keep-nom-ddet att-ddet-loc

to that doorkeeper   to that

sen   pîkhəre

sen   pî -khi -lə -e

money   gave-still-perf-asrt

money   gave

'...to that person, "Give him money!," since he was told (to do so) that gate keeper then gave him the money.'   Laybək17

QUOT can be used with the subordinator based on the ablative marker, -pədəgi, to mark a clause which presents the direct result of a statement. háybədəgi can be translated as 'as a result of what he/she/I say' (this example is repeated from Chapter 5).

(116)   háybədəy   kə́ppe   Səkuntəlase
         háy-pə-təgi   kə́p-e   Sakuntala-si
         say-nom-abl   cry-asrt   Sakuntala-pdet
         from that   cried   this Shakuntala
         From that (she) started crying, that Shakuntala.

                                              Shakun

        The subordinator -pəgi can be used with QUOT to refer
to a previous statement. háybəgi can be translated as
'regarding what he/she/I say.'

(117)   kánnəhəwsi   háybəgi   wáni
         kánnə -həw -si   háy-pə -ki   wá -ni
         utility-start-let us say-nom-gen   word-COP
         let us also make use of that   that is it
         What I am proposing is: let (us also) get
         something out of it.   əMUK134

        The adverbial participializers -tə́nə, -ləgə and túnə
can also be used with QUOTs to subordinate a finite clause.
For example, háydə́nə is used to subordinate a clause where
the speaker is unsure of/does not believe the proposition
in the subordinated statement. háydə́nə can be translated
as 'purporting to be V, the so called V.'

(118) əykhoygi   ofistə   həwjik nawnə
      əy-khoy-ki ofis -tə   now   naw-nə
      I -pl   -gen office-loc   now   new-adv
      of our   at the office   now   newly

      čəŋləkpə   məkhoy keranini
      čəŋ -lək -pə   mə-khoy kerani-ni
      enter-dist-nom   3P-pl   clerk -cop
      those who have joined   they   being a clerk

      háydə́nə   əhum   mərikhək   lə́yse
      háy-tə́nə   ə -hum   mə -li -khək lə́y-si
      say-by   att-three one-four-just be -pdet
      by saying that   three   just four   be this
      In our office, newly joined are three or four that
      have joined who are called clerks (but they really
      don't know anything about this job).   əMUK79

In narratives, háydə́nə has a very specialized
function: it is used to link the direct quote of a
character with the narrator's description of subsequent
action. In this use, háydə́nə can be translated as 'saying
so, then Ved'.

(119)

hentakpu			purə?e		
hentak	-pu		pu	-lək	-e
dried fish	-ADVR		carry-dist-asrt		
dried fish of			have brought		

hawnəbro					háydə́nə	mətəy	mənáw	əsi
haw	-nə	-pə	-lə	-o	háy-tə́nə	mə-təy	mə-náw	ə-si
taste-adv-nom-INT-SOLCT					say-by	nm-join	nm-new	att-pdet
is it tasty					first	this husband and wife		

pə́nkhəttə			khə́tnəre			
pə́n	-khət	-tə	khə́t	-nə	-lə	- e
intense-quarrel-EX			quarrel-recip-perf-asrt			
just fought			quarreled with each other			

'"... why did you bring hentak," saying in this way, they
quarreled for some time.   HH63b

    The QUOT háyrəgə, which contains the participial -ləgə
'having Ved', is used in a similar way. The narrator may
use this form of the QUOT to link together two pieces of a
direct quote. Thus háyrəgə is used to mean 'after saying
that, also said...

(120) khétle   háyrəgə chəphu əmədə

   khét-lə -e háy-ləgə chəphu ə -mə -tə

   cut -perf-asrt say-after pot att-one-LOC

   cut   said   in that pot

   phə́jənə   ŋanthokpiro

   phə́ -čə -nə ŋan -thok-pi -lə -o

   good-self-adv boil -out-rec-pro-SOLCT

   nicely   will you boil

   "Cut the pan", after saying that (he said), "Boil

   them well in a pot."   HH36

The QUOT followed by the adversative marker -pu can be used to subordinate a concessive clause, translated as 'although that is'.

(121)

Ramsi   əŋáŋnidi   háybəbu   yámnə síŋŋí

Ram-si   əŋáŋ -ni -ti háy-pəbu yám -nə síŋ-í

Ram-pdet child-COP-DLMT say-although very-adv wise-nhyp

this Ram is a child   although that very is wise

Although Ram is a small boy he is very wise. HM25.85.4

(122)

u   əwáŋbədəgidi   tay
u   ə -wáŋ -pə -təgi-ti   ta -í
tree att-tall-nom-abl -DLMT   fall-nhyp
tree from the fact that it is tall fell

háybəbu   má side
háy-pəbu   má si -tə -e
say-although   he die-neg-asrt
although that happened he did not die
Though he fell from a high tree, he was not
killed.   Pr82.14

Finally, háydúnə, which is the QUOT and the
participializer -ténə, is used to link direct quotes with
subsequent action. háydúnə can be translated as 'having
said this, then...'

(123) məpu   əsi   pumme   háydúnə
      mə -pu   ə -si   pum -lə -e   háy-túnə
      3P-man   att-pdet rotten-perf-asrt say-ing
      grandfather this   is rotten   saying that

      yóŋ   məyám   kaydúnə   cenkhəre
      yóŋ   mə-yám kay   -túnə   cen-khi -lə -e
      monkey nm-very take out-ing   run-still-perf-asrt
      monkey many   taking out   ran away
      (They said), "This grandpa is rotten," so saying,
      these many monkeys ran away.   HH108

The desires, wishes, or intentions of someone other
than the speaker can only be presented as a clause

subordinated by a QUOT. The subordinating morphology taken by the QUOT is determined through the clausal relationship the subordinated clause has with the main clause. For example, an optative clause can appear as a complement (as in (124)):

(124) kəri láyriknone   nə́ŋnə
      kəri láyrik-no -ne nə́ŋ-nə
      what book -INQ-SI you -CNTR
      what book   you

      nə́mge   háyribədubo
      nə́m -ke   háy-li -pədu -pu
      press-opt   say-prog-dcomp-ADVR
      want to press that you are saying
      Which book is it that you said you want to
      publish?   əMUK14

A sequence of optative clauses may also be subordinated by the QUOT háybəgi as in (125):

(125) phə́həwge   kánnəhəwge
      phə́ -həw -ke kánnə -həw -ke
      good-start-opt utility-start-opt
      to want good   to want to make useful of

      háybəgi   wánibə
      háy-pə-ki   wá   -ni -pə
      say-nom-gen topic-COP-nom
      that   word is
      '... From what you say, you want to so something
      good and useful.'   əMUK129

As mentioned above, háydúnə can be used to subordinate
a direct quote when it is followed with some subsequent
action which is the main predication. It is also possible
for that main predicate to be a description of a speech
act. For example in (126), the report of the desire of
some third party is presented in a performative
construction as a clause subordinated by the QUOT háydúnə.

(126) nə́ŋbu   yót məkok   əsi   pallu

       nə́ŋ-pu   yót mə-kok   ə   -si   pal-lə -u

       you -pat   hoe nm-head att-pdet put-pro-imp

       you   hoe head   this   put

       háydúnə   hukum píye

       háytúnə   hukum pí -ye

       say-iŋ   order give-CONFM

       saying that order   gave

       He directs you to put a handle in that hoe. (Lit: He

       gave an order by saying this: you go ahead and put

       the handle in that hoe.)   Pr57.5

Finally, the QUOT may also be used with the adverbial
marker -nə as in (127).

(127) mədu   ləwdə́nə   héktə

       mə -tu   ləw -tə́nə   hék -tə

       nm-ddet   take-by   just-loc

       that   having taken   with no other stipulation

       háybənədi   yároy

       háy-pə-nə -ti   yá -loy

       say-nom-adv-DLMT   agree-npot

       due to that   will not agree

       Because of having   presented that with no other

       stipulation, they would not agree.   Elect10

To review, with a clause subordinated by the QUOT, the
speaker indicates that the proposition reported on is (a)
not fully confirmed, (b) hearsay or (c) a report of the
intentions or desires of a person other than the speaker.

This can be opposed to the subordination of clauses without the QUOT where the speaker does not provide any indication of the source or validity of information that is subordinated. Details about this distribution can be found in Chapter 11. Table 3 gives a list of the quotative forms discussed above.

Table 3: Quotatives

Quotative	Meaning and gloss
háybədə	according to what X (rightly) say/says
háybəninə	because of what X says
háybədəgi	as a result of that saying
háybəgi	regarding what X says
háydə́nə	calling it so, Ved; by saying so, then Ved
háydúnə	having said so, then Ved
háyrəgə	after saying, Ved
háybəbu	according to what X say/says
háybəbu	although that V is
háybənə(di)	due to what X said
háyrəkandə	at the time X said

6.5 Tense in subordinate clauses

In this section I look at the restrictions on tense in the five types of subordinate clauses discussed, that is: relative clauses; infinite complements; complements headed by DETCOMP; complementizer headed by QCOMP and adverbial clauses (including clauses subordinated by the quotative).

First, there is a strict restriction regarding the subordination of clauses in the assertive future (i.e.

<u>V-kəni</u>).   As seen in examples (128-131), when <u>V-gəni</u>
appears in a subordinate clause, the QUOT must be used as
the subordinator.

(128) for relative clauses:

*čəgənibə   must be   čəgəni háybə
čə -kə -ni -pə   čə -kə -ni   háy-pə
eat-pot-COP-nom   eat-pot-COP say-nom
                                (one) who will eat
(129) for complements:

*čəgənibədu   must be   čəgəni háybədu
čə -kə -ni-pədu   čə -kə -ni   háy-pədu
eat-pot-COP-dcomp   eat-pot-COP say-dcomp
                                that (he) will eat

(130) kolomdu   mánə   páykhrəgəni
       kolom-tu   má-nə   páy -khi -lə -kə -ni
       pen   -ddet he-CNTR hold-still-pro-pot-COP
       that pen   he   will hold

       háybədu   cummí
       háy-pədu   cum -í
       say-dcomp   true-nhyp
       that   is true
       It is true that he is going to hold the pen.
                                                    HM24.68k

(131) for adverbial subordination:

*čágǝnirǝbǝdi	must be	čágǝni háyrǝbǝdi
*čá-kǝ-ni -lǝbǝdi		čá-kǝ -ni háy-lǝbǝdi
eat-pot-COP-if		eat-pot-COP say-if
		will eat if that is

This restriction is again reflective of the relationship between COMP choice and the evidence available to the speaker about the truth of the proposition: although the speaker can assert what should or could (as a perceivable result of current circumstances), come into being in the future the speaker cannot be totally sure of a future event. Thus the future assertive statement must be subordinated with a quotative.

A second restriction is noted by Devi (1979: 178). She shows that conditional clauses headed by the sequence - lǝbǝdi cannot occur with progressive and perfect aspect. Thus to make a conditional clause of (132) or (133), the quotative must be used as the subordinator as in (134) and (135):

(132)
má čák čáre
má čák čá -lǝ -e
he rice eat-perf-asrt
he rice has eaten
He has eaten.
Devi192.6a

(133)
má čák čárǝmmi
má čák čá -lǝm-li
he rice eat-evd-prog
He was eating.
Devi192.5a

(134)

```
má čák  čáre              háyrəbədi         phəy
má čák  čá -lə   -e       háy-lə -pə -ti    phə́ -í
he rice eat-perf-asrt     say-pro-nom-DLMT  good-nhyp
he rice eaten             if that           is it is good
It is   good if he has eaten.                        MD192.6b
```

(135)

```
má čák  čárəmmi           háyrəbədi         phəy
má čák  čá -ləm-li        háy -lə -pə -ti   phə́ -í
he rice eat-evd-prog      that-pro-nom-DLMT good-nhyp
he rice eating            if that           it is good
It is good if he was eating.                         MD192.5b
```

These facts can be explained using the same principles for the distribution of COMP set in section 6.2.7. Implicit in the meaning of the conditional clause, is the fact that the speaker has no evidence about the whether or not the propostion in the embedded clause has ever existed. Thus the quotative must be used for subordination.

6.6 The ordering of clauses

To review, there are 6 formally distinct clause types in M:

1. finite clauses
2. nominalized complements
3. determiner complements
4. quotative complements
5. participials
6. subordinate adverbial clauses

In this section, I will show how these clause types are combined to form sentences.

6.6.1 Embedding

A clause can be embedded within another. For example, an adverbial participial can be embedded within an DETCOMP complement:

(136)

niɲthəwnə	khəlli	əygumbə	niɲthəw	əmə
niŋ-thəw-nə	khəl -li	əy-kum -pə	niŋ-thəw	ə -mə
wish-work-CNTR	think-prog	I -like-nom	wish-work	att-one
king	thinking	being like me	king	one

láyriŋəydə	əygi
láy-li -ŋəy -tə	əy-ki
be -prog-during-loc	I -gen
while	my

inaynə	nə́ŋbəsi	núŋŋayte
i -nay -nə	nə́ŋ-pə -si	núŋ-ŋay -tə -e
1P-serve-inst	you-nom-pdet	in -like-neg-asrt
servant	that is poor	feel sorry

'...the king thought, "At the time when there is a king like me, in my kingdom there is an actor as sad as you and that is not a happy thing.'   LAYBəK10

Additionally, a QCOMP complement can be embedded within an adverbial clause (as in 137) and a DDETCOMP complement can be embedded within an INFCOMP clause (as in 138).

(137)

nún̜n̜ayhən̜e		háynə	khəllədə́nə
nún̜-n̜ay-hən -ke		háy-nə	khəl -lə -tə́nə
in -like-caus-opt		say-adv	think-pro-by
want to cause to be rich	that		from thinking thus

'...thinking that (he) will cause him to be rich...'

(138)

mánə	mejdə	láyrik	páybədu
má-nə	mej -tə	láyrik	páy -pədu
he-CNTR	table-loc	book	hold-dcomp
he	on the table	book	that piling

yén̜bə	nún̜n̜ayte
yén̜-pə	nún̜-n̜ay -tə -e
see -nom	in -like-neg-asrt
to look	is not nice

It is not nice to look that he piles the book on
the table.   MD180.1b

6.6.2 Ellipsis

Through ellipsis of the main V in conversation, it is
possible to use a subordinated clause without any following
finite V.   The ellided parts are provided in the
translation in parenthesis.

(139)

čák	čáhəwdə́nə
čák	čá -həw -tə́nə
rice	eat-start-by
meal	having eaten

First, having eating your meal, (then go).   Prb.Q7

(140) čə́tkədəbə   lə́yrəbədi

čə́t-kə -tə -pə lə́y-lə -pə -ti

go -pot-nes-nom be -pro-nom-DLMT

should go   if

you have to go if it is

kók kók   čə́tthokurodə́nə

kók kók   čə́t-thok-u -lə -o   -tə́nə

head head go -out-imp-INT-SOLCT-by

go ahead   have you been told you go

If you have been told to go, then why not (go)

without making a fuss.   GR.Q52

(141) píhənniŋmənkhərədúnə

pí -hən -niŋ-mən   -khi -lə -túnə

give-caus-wish-excess-still-pro-ing

(I wish) very much that you are going to give (it

to her, I ask you to do so).   HM25.155.2

Adverbial clauses can also be extraposed to the right
of the main verb; such extraposition serves to highlight
the moved clause.

```
(142) bas   paythokténa      siramdawrébni
      bas   pay  -thok-téna   si -lam-taw -léba  -ni
      bus   carry-out -by     die-evd-oblg-having-COP
      bus   by taking         may have been killed

      čakanuŋ       lóyna    paythokkhidéna
      čaka-nuŋ      lóy-na    pay  -thok-khi  -téna
      tire-in       all-adv  carry-out -still-by
      inner tube    all      by taking
      '...when I took the bus, we might have died, since
      all the tires burst when we took the bus.'     RSS78
```

6.6.3 Clause chaining

Adverbial clauses and participials can be combined, exhibiting the clause-chaining discourse structure that is commonly noted for Tibeto-Burman languages (Delancey, (1989a:2)). First, like participials can be stacked one on the other, to indicate a sequence of activities or a list of states.

```
(143)
imuŋda        čádéna   thékténa    laythoke
i  -muŋ-ta    čá -téna thék -téna  lay-thok-e
1P-in  -loc   eat-by   drink-by    be -out -asrt
at my house   eating   drinking    turned out to be
'... it fell out that he remained, at his friend's house
eating and drinking.'                        LAYBaK27
```

(144)

```
ŋəsi əyúk        əy irujərəgə                sə́mjet
ŋəsi ə -yúk      əy i -lu -čə -ləgə          sə́m -set
today att-early  I  water-bath-self-after    hair-wear
today morning    I  after bathing            hair style
```

```
hálləgə          phî setləgə       skul    čə́tləmmí
hál -ləgə        phî set -ləgə      skul    čə́t-ləm-í
repeat-after     cloth wear-after   school  go-evd-nhyp
after doing again cloth after wearing school went
```

This morning I bathed, combed my hair, dressed and went to
school.   HM14.92.1

(145) sinemə holdə   khərə hoteldə   khərə
      sinemə hol -tə   khərə hotel-tə   khərə
      cinema hall-loc   some hotel-loc   some
      cinema to the hall   some to the hotel   some

      phə́mdúnə   kóydúnə   láythokdi
      phə́m -túnə   kóy -túnə   láy-thok-ti
      place-ing   roam-ing   be -out -DLMT
      lounging around   roaming around   be this way
      '...some go to the cinema hall, some around the
         hotel lounging, and roaming around...'   əMUK30b

Two contiguous nominalized complements can also
indicate a conjunction of the states described in the
complements.

(146) khubak   məyi   yéŋbə   kuthi   yéŋbə
       khut-pak   mə -yi   yéŋ -pə   kuthi   yéŋ -pə
       hand-broad nm-line   look-nom horiscope look-nom
       palm   lines   to read   horiscope to read
       '...looking at people's palms and reading their
       horiscopes...'   LAYBəK6

Finite clauses can also be placed in sequence to each other to indicate a sequence of events.

(147)
nəŋ həwjik čəy   yaŋkhəy   phubə   táre
nəŋ həwjik čəy   yaŋ-khəy   phu -pə   tá -lə -e
you now   stick cut -pl   beat-nom fall-pro-asrt
you now   stick fifty   turn out that you will be
                                       beaten

thá   təruk jel píbə   táre
thá   təruk jel pí -pə   tá -lə -e
month seven jail give-nom fall-pro-asrt
month seven jail will be   given

háynə   hukum   páthoke
háy-nə   hukum   pá -thok-lə   -e
say-adv   command   read-out -perf-asrt
that   command   read out
Since you are a traitor to the kingdom, I must give you 50
lashes, and I must send you to jail for six months.
                                              LAYBəK37

(148)

ŋəsi	əyúk	əy	irujəre				sə́mjet
ŋəsi	ə-yúk	əy	i	-lu	-čə	-lə	-e	sə́m-set
today	I-early	I	water-bath-self-perf-asrt				hair-wear
today	morning	I	bathed				hair style

sə́mjet	hato?e			phí
sə́m-set	hán	-thok-lə	-e	phí
hair-wear	repeat-out	-perf-asrt		cloth
hair style	did over			clothes

setcille		ədugə	skul	čə́tləmmi
set -sin-lə	-e	ədugə	skul	čə́t-ləm-li
wear-in -perf-asrt		and then	school	go -evd-prog
got into		and then	school	went

This morning I bathed, combed my hair, dressed and
went to school.   HM14.92.1

A sentence can consist of several adverbial clauses,
with the restriction that it must contain one finite verb
clause. An example of this is given in (149); each clause
begins a new numbered line and each clause is provided with
a free translation.

(149a)	cithi	ədo	parubədudə
	cithi	ə -tu	pa -lu -pədu-tə
	letter	att-ddet	read-adir-dcomp-loc
	letter	that	upon that reading
	on reading that letter		

(149b) sen   pannəbə   nupá   ədunə
        sen   pan -nə -pə   nu   -pá ədunə
        money rule-adv-nom   person-mas then
        money ruler   person   then
        the treasurer then

(149c) cithi   purəkibə   nupá
        cithi   pu -lək -li -pə   nu   -pa
        letter   carry-dist-prog-rel   person-mas
        letter   the one who brings   person

        ədudə   sen   píkho
        ə -tu -tə   sen   pí -khi -o
        att-ddet-loc   money give-still-SOLCT
        to that one   money give him, won't you
        give money to that person who brought the letter

(149d) háybəninə
        háy-pə -ni -nə
        say-nom-COP-adv
        because he was told thus
        since (he) was told to do so

(149e) məráybəkphəbə   dolaypabədo

         mə-láy-pək-phə -pə dolay   pa -pə -tu

         nm-god-get-good-nom chariot keep-nom-ddet

         fortunate   gate keeper, do you know

         ədudə   sen   píkhəre

         ə -tu -tə   sen   pí -khi -lə   -e

         att-ddet-loc money give-still-perf-asrt

         to that one   money gave

         to that fortunate gate keeper (he) gave the money

(149f) manə   pubə   ŋəmbə   məkhəy

         ma-nə   pu   -pə ŋəm-pə mə -khoy

         nm-CNTR carry-nom able-nom one-gpl

         he   bringing can   all

         as much as he could carry

         On reading the letter, the man who kept the money

         as he was instructed in the letter to do so, gave

         the man that carried the letter, the gate keeper

         who has such good fortune, money, all that he could

         carry.   Laybək17

DETCOMP and QCOMP complements are one per sentence. See also section 11.2 for the number of COMPs that can occur with verbs of saying and reporting where more than one QCOMP can be used: each additional COMP indicates that the speaker is an one additional step removed from the actual reporting or some event.

6.6.4 Connectives

Finite clauses can be related to each other through the use of connectives. These connectives are based on the pronoun ǝdu 'that'. The exact nature of the relationships that are established between finite clauses through the connectives (and the morphology that accompanies them), is discussed in this section.

A connective may be formed of the determiner ǝdu 'that' and one of the oblique case markers. Each connective of the form determiner-case marker has a specialized function.

The determiner ǝdu occurs with the locative marker -tǝ to indicate a cause clause where the action or state described in the second clause is a result of the action described in the first. ǝdudǝ can be translated as 'at that, becuase of that.'

(150)

```
niŋθəwgi     hakθəŋ        háydu     óyrəmme
niŋ-θəw-ki   hak -θəŋ      háy-tu    óy-ləm-e
wish-work-gen body-adjacent say-ddet be-evd-asrt
of the king  confidant     that      was
```

```
ədudə         mánə    warədə́nə
ə    -tu -tə  má-nə   wa    -lə  -tə́nə
att-ddet-loc  he-adv  tired-perf-by
that          he      since he became tired
'...he was the first in command, from that fact
he became tired, then...'                        Laybək28
```

ədugi, where the determiner occurs with the genitive marker, indicates a substitutive clause where one event (as expressed in the first clause) is replaced by another (expressed in the second clause). ədugi can be translated as 'instead of that'.

(151)

čə̂tlubəy			kərisu	kánnəroy			ədugi		
čə̂t-lu	-pə	-i	kəri-su	kán	-nə	-loy	ə	-tu	-ki
go	-adir-nom-nhyp		what-also	utility-adv-npot			att-ddet-gen		
going	over		anything	will not be any			use of that		

səruk	əygi	láyrik	nə̂mbəgi			wáphəmdo		
səruk	əy-ki	láyrik	nə̂m	-pə	-ki	wá	-phəm	-du
share	I -gen	book	press-nom-gen			topic-place-ddet		
share	my	book	for publishing			the place of topic		

mədu	hánnə	əmuktə			khənnəsi		
mə-tu	hán	-nə	ə	-muk	-tə	khən -nə	-si
nm-ddet	repeat-adv	att-once-lcc			think-recip-pdet		
that	already	one again			discuss		

There is no use is going over it again, in place of that
let's discuss first, once again, that plan to publish my
book.   əMUK120c

ədugə, where the determiner occurs with the associative
marker, indicates an additive clause where one state is
appended to another. Here the additive clause includes an
implication that the second clause occurs after the first.
ədugə can be translated as 'and then, additionally'.

(152)

```
məntri    məkók         hápcillo         ədugə
məntri    mə-kók        háp-cil-lə -u    ə  -tu  -kə
minister  3P-head       put-in -pro-imp  att-ddet-ass
minister  at the head   put in  here     then


əygi     icanupi                  əmə      léybədo
əy-ki    i  -ca    -nu    -pi     ə  -mə   léy-pə -tu
I-gen    1P-child-person-fem      att-one  be -nom-ddet
my       daughter                 one      the one living there


məŋóndə              bibahkərmə            təwro
mə      -ŋón-tə      bibah   karma        təw-lə  -o
mode of-to -loc      marriage ceremony    do -pro-imp
to him               marriage ceremony    do
```

'...make the man who has come the chief minister of your land and also, marry him to my daughter who is living there.'   LAYBəK24

ədudəgi, where the determiner occurs with the ablative marker, indicates a temporal sequence of events where the second clause occurs after the first and is a consequence of the first. ədudəgi can be translated as 'after that'.

295

```
(153) bay    háybədudəne                    bay en
      bay    háy-pədu -tə -ne               bay en
      by     say-dcomp-loc-SI               by  an
      by     at the place where it says     by  an

      ekspəriens tičər   kókthani            ədudəgi
      ekspəriens tičər   kók -tha  -ni       ə -tu -təgi
      experience teacher head-write-COP      att-ddet-abl
      experience teacher just                from that

      Mənipurdə    phóŋlibə          khəbərsiŋdə
      Mənipur-tə   phóŋ -li -pə      khəbər-siŋ-tə
      Manipur-loc  publish-prog-nom  news -gpl -loc
      at Manipur   publishing        at that news

      edvərtais kénnə    təwrəni
      edvərtais kén -nə  təw-rə -ni
      advertize much-adv do -pro-COP
      advertize very     will do
```

...we will publish 'by an experienced teacher' at the
top, after that, we will advertize aggressively in the
newspapers published in Manipur...'   əMUK28

(154)

ədudəgine	nókniŋbə	əməgə	təmge
ə -tu -təgi-ne	nók -niŋ -pə	ə -mə -kə	təm -ke
att-ddet-abl -SI	laugh-wish-nom	att-one-ass	learn-opt
after that	a loving thing	another	would like
			to say

Then (hearing you speak so), let me relate an amusing
thing.   əMUK70

ədu may also occur with the adverbial marker -nə to
indicate that the first clause is the purpose or reason for
the second clause. ədunə can be translated as 'then,
therefore or thus'.

(155)

əygi	inaysi	əwabə	tarəbəni
əy-ki	i -nay -si	ə -wa -pə	ta -lə -pə -ni
I -gen	1PP-serve-pdet	att-tired-nom	fall-perf-nom-COP
my	my servant	unhappy	fell out

ədunə	hukumdo
ə -du -nə	hukum -tu
att-ddet-adv	command-ddet
then	the command

'...it turned out that my servant was unhappy and
so (I gave) the command...'   Laybək39

An adversative relationship between two clauses is
signalled through the suffixation of the adversative marker
-pu to the determiner ədu.

(156)

```
khəŋdedə              ədubu           məkhá
khəŋ-tə  -e   -tə́     ə -du -pu       mə -khá
know -neg-asrt-EX     att-ddet-ADVR   nm-south
does not know exactly but             south
```

```
dukaɲi       əduwaydə                  lə́y
dukan-ki     ə -tu -way -tə            lə́y
shop -gen    att-ddet-where-loc        be
of the shop  around there somewhere    is
(Your mother) does not know that place exactly, but it is
somewhere about the South shop.                         əMUK4
```

(157)

```
hatpə     tarəmmí      ədubu           hatle
hat-pə    ta -ləm-í    ə -tu -pu       hat -tə -lə  -e
kill-nom  fall-evd-nhyp att-ddet-ADVR  kill-neg-perf-asrt
to kill   fell          but            did not kill
I was supposed to kill <it> but I didn't.      HM24.116.2a
```

Table 4 gives a list of the connectives discussed above:

Table 4: Connectives

Connective	Meaning and gloss
ədudə	at that
ədugi	instead of that
ədugə	and then, additionally
ədudəgi	after that
ədunə	then
ədubu	but

Connectives can appear with the distance determiner as described above. The corresponding forms with the proximate determiner -si, do not appear as connectives; these are used as constituents of a NP as shown in (159):

(158) səmaj   əsidə
      səmaj   ə -si -tə
      society   att-pdet-loc
      society   this   əMUK151

Chapter 7

7 Affixal Morphology

In chapters 7-9 I present the categorial morphology of M. Chapter 7 describes the derivational and inflectional morphology of verbs and nouns and presents a grammar of clitics. Chapter 8 describes compounding and Chapter 9 describes various patterns of lexical collocations where rhyming words or pieces of words are juxtaposed.

This chapter is divided into three sections: a description of affixal verb morphology is given in section 7.1, of affixal noun morphology in section 7.2, and of enclitics in section 7.3. Morphophonological or phonological statements are withheld till Chapter 10 unless the underlying form of the affix cannot be easily reconstructed by comparing the text line and morpheme representation line in the examples.

7.1 The verb morphology

A M verb must minimally consist of a verb root and an inflectional suffix (chosen from a possible set of illocutionary mood markers which make up the sole inflectional category in the verb). A verb may further be followed by one of the enclitics described in section 7.3.

There are three derivational categories which may

optionally precede the final inflectional suffix.[1] These
are: the first level derivational suffixes (1LD), which
signal adverbial meanings; the second level derivational
suffixes (2LD), which assign evidential values, signal the
deictic reference of a verb or indicate the number of
persons an action is performed by; the third level
derivational suffixes (3LD), which signal meanings of
aspect and mood.

These three levels of derivational morphology are
determined on the basis of the distribution and ordering of
morphemes within each category. With 1LD: only one 1LD
suffix may appear in a verb and this suffix must occur
directly to the left of the verb root. With 2LD: up to
ten 2LD suffixes may occur in a verb; these suffixes must
occur directly after the 1LD suffixes. The order of
suffixes at this level is controlled solely by scope.
Opposed to this, the order of 3LD suffixes (there may be
upto 3 of these and they occur directly after 2LD
suffixes), is fixed. The description of the verb given
here can be represented as in Figure 1.

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[1] Towards the end of this section, I provide the
criteria I use to distinguish inflectional from deriva-
tional morphology.

Figure 1: Structure of the M verb

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                        V
              _____/|_____
             /         |         \
          STEM       INFL        ENC
         /   \
      Stem   3LD
      /   \
   Stem   2LD
   /   \
ROOT   1LD
 |
root
```
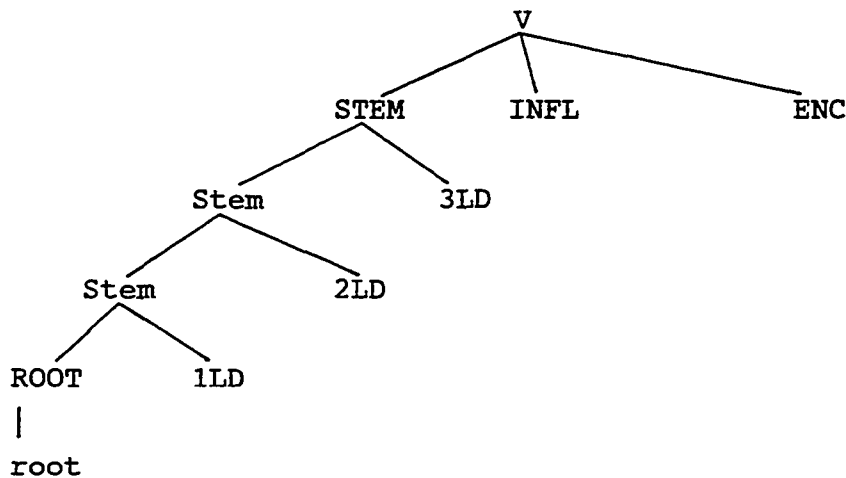
These facts about the structure of the verb can be derived through means of the word structure rules given in Table.[2]

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[2] I use phrase structure rules to derive the ordering of categories within the word since other ways of deriving the linear ordering of morphemes do not work here. For example, linear ordering may be dervied through the interaction of phonology and morphology as in the theroy of Lexical Morphology and Phonology (Kiparsay, 1982, 1983; Mohanan 1986). Although it can be stated that inflectional morphemes do undergo later level phonological rules and thus occur outside of the derivational morphology, there is nothing on the basis of phonology to preempt a particular order for the morphemes in the second and third derivational level. Secondly, the notion that the "head of a word", will always be at the rightmost edge of a word and thus be ordered to the right of the constituent it is the

Table 1:   List of word structure rules for verbs

a. V   →   STEM INFL (ENC)

b. STEM   →   Stem (3rd LD)

c. Stem   →   Stem (2nd LD)

d. Stem   →   ROOT (1st LD)

e. ROOT   →   root (root)

f. 3rd LD   →   (mood 1) (mood 2) (aspect)

g. 2nd LD   → $(2ndLD_a)$, $(2ndLD_b)$, $(2ndLD_c)$...

h. 1st LD   →   1stLD

Possible terminal elements of each derivational category and the infelctional category are described in section 7.1.1 to 7.1.3. For the remainder of this section I will discuss the basis on which I distinguish between derivational (DM) and inflectional morphology (IM) in M.

Three criteria have been used to distinguish between

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head of (Di Sciullo and Williams, 1987), is of no use here. Since derivational markers signal things like the person for whom or with whom some action is performed or the manner some action is performed, but do not derive intra or intercategory changes, there is no reason to consider them as heads. It would be possible, following Williams and Di Sciullo (1987:26) to diacritically mark the noncategory changing rightmost suffix to indicate that it carries the category of stem it is concatenated with. This would be an unrevealing solution for M, since all 19 2LD and 3LD suffixes will have to be so marked. Finally, a purely templatic formula is not in evidence for M, since morphemes in 2LD do not occur in a fixed position.

IM and DM in M. It is argued that IM is formally and semantically more productive than DM; that in the linear order IM occurs further out from the root than DM; that the morphophonology of IM is more general than that of DM. Each of these criteria are discussed below.

IM is more productive than DM. First, inflectional morphology is "paradigmatic", in the sense of Aronoff (1976:2). That is, every M verb exhibits a paradigm consisting of forms with each of the inflectional markers as illustrated in Table 2:

Table 2: Partial inflectional paradigm of the verbs cá 'eat' and tum 'sleep'

inflectional affix		root	
-i	'nonhypothetical'	cáy	'eats'
-u	'imperative'	cáw	'eat!'
-ke	'optative'	cáge	'would like to eat'
-i	'nonhypothetical'	tummi	'sleeps'
-u	'imperative'	tummu	'sleep!'
-ke	'optative'	tumge	'would like to sleep'

This is not the case with derivational morphology: as described in the section 7.1.1 to 7.1.3, there are selectional restrictions on the verb roots that derivational morphemes can be affixed to. The characterization of inflectional morphology as productive is correct if we consider the productivity of the category

as a whole. Of course, certain inflectional paradigms may be "defective" (Aronoff 1976:2), so that a <u>particular</u> inflectional morpheme may be unproductive whereas the category it belongs to <u>is</u> productive. For example, the following English data evidently argue against productivity as a defining characteristic of inflection: the inflectional plural suffix <u>-en</u> in <u>oxen</u> is unproductive (does not occur with all nouns), whereas the derivational agentive suffix <u>-er</u> as in <u>baker</u> is highly productive[3]. This does not mean that the category of plural is not fully productive in English, we know that it is, since all singular nouns have a plural equivalent.

In M, the formal productivity of inflectional morphology is complemented by its semantic productivity: the meanings signalled by the inflectional morphology are regular, easier to predict than the meanings signalled by the derivational morphemes which are often idiosyncratic.

It is generally also accepted (see Greenberg (1966)), that DM occurs encompassed within IM so that DM occurs closer to the root than IM. Corresponding to this in M, the three categories which occur closest to the root have been called derivational and the category farther out from the root, inflectional.

Finally, it has been noted that the phonology closer to the root (the phonology of DM), is less regular than the phonology further out from the root (the phonology of IM), (Sapir (1921)). More specifically, it has been observed

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[3] These examples are from Scott Myers (p.c.).

that the phonological rules which apply on DM have a more
restricted environment of application than phonological
rules that apply on the IM (Kiparsky (1982)). This is
certainly true in M where the categories of 1LD, 2LD and
3LD undergo lexical phonological rules and the affixes in
the inflectional category undergo only post-lexical rules
(see Chapter 10 for details).

It has been noted that DM has a tendency to consist of
borrowed or lexicalized forms (Bybee (1985)). This is
certainly true in M where suffixes from 1LD, 2LD and 3LD
have a diachronic relationship with a stem in the language;
that is, the suffix has been derived from the stem (see the
right hand column of in Table 3). In this process of
lexicalization, the stem loses its stem tone and the vowel
of the stem often appears as ə.[4]

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[4] It is because of the existence of these suffixes
that I disagree with BN (1986:2.6), in their claim that
compounding is the only derivational process in M. This
might have been the case at some earlier stage of the
language; however, it is clearly not true for the
synchronic grammar since derivational markers which are
derived from stems exhibit no stem tone and as illustrated
in the following list, often occur with ə instead of the
original vowel.

Table 3: List of 1st level derivation and 2nd level derivation suffixes and the stems they are derived from.

LD1:   Suffix   Related Stem

-khay 'totally effect'	kháybə 'to cut with a knife'
-thət 'partially effect'	thətpə 'to break by pulling, to pluck'
-thek 'effect with pressure'	thəkpə 'to break with the hands'
-hət 'effect with undue psychological or physical influence'	hatpə 'to kill'
-sin 'V inward'	sin 'in'
-thok 'V outward'	thók 'out'
-thə 'V downward'	thə 'down'
-khət 'V upward'	khət 'up'

(Table 3 continued)

LD2:   Suffix   Related Stem

-min 'comitative'	mín 'be together'
-pi 'V to or for someone other than self'	pí 'give'
-čə 'V for sake of self'	sá 'body'
-hən 'causative'	hán 'advance/push ahead'
-niŋ 'desire to V'	niŋ 'dream, wish'
-mən 'V in excess'	mán 'greedy'
-kən 'V repeatedly, habitually	kən 'save'
-həw 'inceptive'	háw 'begin, grow'
-ləm 'indirect evidence'	ləm 'path'
-lək 'distal'	lak 'come'

All the suffixes of 1LD are transparently related to stems, out of the 16 2LD suffixes there are 10 that are related to stems and out of the 7 3LD suffixes there are 3 that are related to stems. Thus there is a cline, where closer to the root all morphemes are historically grammaticalized forms, going out farther from the root there are fewer morphemes which are transparently lexicalized equivalents of stems and in the IM there are no morphemes which are obviously derived from stems.

7.1.1 First level derivation

The 1LD category consists of 8 suffixes; as mentioned above, a verb may be affixed by only one of these suffixes and this suffix must occur directly after the root. Suffixes of the 1LD category fall into two semantic classes: those which describe to what extent an agent desires/intends to affect some object and those which tell the direction and manner that an action is performed. The first semantic class consists of four markers: -khay 'totally effect', -thət 'partially effect', -thek 'effect with pressure', -hət 'effect with undue psychological or physical influence'.

The suffix -khay 'cut' is used to signify an action that completely destroys the integrity of an object.

(1)
phəklaŋəsi   soydə́nə   čékhayrəkkəni
phə́k   -laŋ   -ə -si   soy -tə́nə sét -khay-lək -kə -ni
reed mat-thatch -att-det sure-by   tear-cut -dist-pot-COP
this wall   certainly will crack up
This wall will surely crack (at some point, due to faulty construction).   HM25.112.5

(2) məŋoŋdə   məčhindu   sémmu   háyrəmləgə
    mə-ŋoŋ-tə   məčhin -tu   sém -u   háy-ləm-ləgə
    3P-to -loc   machine-ddet repair-imp say-evd-after
    to him   the machine   repair   even though said

    mánə   lóynə   phúgayrəmle
    má-nə   lóy-nə phú -khay-ləm-lə -e
    he-CNTR all-adv beat-cut -evd-perf-asrt
    he   all   destroyed
    I told him to repair the machine instead of that he
    destroyed it.   HM25.113.2

When the action is performed willfully, the use of
this marker signifies malicious or deadly intent on the
part of the actor. Thus compare (3a) with (3b) and (4a)
with (4b).

(3a) phúbə   (3b) phúgaybə
      phú-pə   phú -khay-pə
      beat-nom   beat-cut -nom
      to beat   to beat till bones are
                               broken

(4a) léŋthokpə   (4b) léŋkhaybə
      leŋ -thok-pə   leŋ-khay-pə
      throw-out-nom   throw-cut-nom
      to throw someone out   to throw out (with
                               intent to harm)
                                            HM25.112.6 and 7

-thət is used to signify an action that partially
effects an object by piercing, tearing or breaking off a

piece, or otherwise damaging its integrity. The examples given by HM are: breaking off an attached object like the cover of a tape recorder or tearing off the sole of a shoe. See also examples (5-6).

(5) əygi   láyrik phə́ktətpə
    əy-ki   láyrik phə́k-thət-pə
    I-gen   book   tear-pull-nom
    we   book   tear apart

    mídu   məsək   khəŋle
    mí-tu   mə-sək   khəŋ-lə -e
    men-ddet   3P-face   know-perf-asrt
    that man   his face   know
    I discovered the man who tore up my book.   HM25.111.1

(6) phídu   néŋnə   thíndətpə   yaroy
    phí -tu   néŋ-nə   thín -thət-pə   ya   -loy
    cloth-ddet you -CNTR   pierce-pull-nom agree-npot
    that cloth you   pierce through   cannot
    You cannot go through the cloth (with a pointed
    object like a needle).   HM25.111.4

The suffix -thek signifies an action that disturbs the integrity of an object/being by exerting pressure on the object/being that is being destroyed:

(7) ŋəraŋgi   nóŋnúŋšitunə   uček
    ŋəraŋ -ki   nóŋ-núŋ-šit-tu   -nə   uček
    yesterday-gen rain-in-blow-ddet-adv   bird
    yesterday's   by that storm   bird

    yámnə   phúdek   pírəmle
    yám -nə phú -thek   pí -ləm-lə -e
    much-adv beat-pull   give-evd-perf-asrt
    a lot   beaten   were given
    In yesterday's storm many birds were given a beating.
                                          HM25.114.5

(8) thóŋsi   kənano   phəkteklibəno
    thóŋ-si   kəna-no   phək-thek -li -pə -no
    door-pdet who -INQ   tear-break-prog-nom-INQ
    this door who is it   who has torn down
    Who is it that had torn down this door?   HM25.115.4

The suffix -hət 'to make a killing at V', (derived
from hat 'kill', similar to the idiomatic use of kill in
English), is used to signify an action that is accomplished
through exerting undue or intense physical or psychological
influence over someone.

(9) láwhətpə
     láw -hət -pə
     shout-kill-nom
     to shout down   HM25.123

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(10)   əynə      kənabusu      tuhətpə         pámde
       əy-nə     kəna-pu -su   tu  -hət -pə    pám -tə -e
       I -CNTR   who -pat-ALSO fall-kill-nom   like-neg-asrt
       I         anybody       torture         do not like
       I do not like to torture anybody.             HM25.123


(11)   thəmbalgi        láynəmnə            mípúm
       thəm -pal   -ki  láy    -nəm   -nə   mí-púm
       place-flower-gen flower-smell-adv    man-all
       of the lotus     flowery smell       all men


       khudiŋməkpu      sumhətpə            ŋəmmí
       khudiŋ-mək -pu   sum -hət -pə        ŋəm  -í
       each      -lone-pat thus-kill-nom    smell-nhyp
       each one         totally             has (made) smell
       The smell of lotus charmed everyone.


(12)   mági   məməydu       nuŋshánə
       má-ki  mə-məy -tu     nuŋ-sá   -nə
       3P-gen 3P-face-ddet   sun -hot-adv
       his    that face      by the sunheat


       káhətpə          málle
       ká     -hət -pə  mál  -lə -e
       roast-kill-nom   seem-perf-asrt
       to be burnt      it seemed
       His face seems to have been sunburned.
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The second subcategory of the 1LD category consists of
four suffixes which when used with motion verbs signify the
direction in which an action is done. These are -sin 'V
in an inward motion'; -thok 'V in an outward motion; -thə

'V in a downward motion'; <u>-khət</u> 'V in an upward motion'.

The use of <u>-sin</u> 'to V in an inward motion' is illustrated in (13):

(13) məhaknə   láyrik pusillí
     mə-hak -nə   láyrik pu   -sin-í
     3P-here-CNTR   book   bring-in -nhyp
     he   book   bring in
     He carried the book in.   BN5.4c

By metaphoric extension <u>-sin</u> may be used signify that the action performed is done in conjunction with others. Thus in (14), the actor gets "in" on an action being performed by a group of people.

(14) kə́psinpə
     kə́p-sin-pə
     cry-in -nom
     join others in weeping   BN5.12.11

The use of <u>-thok</u> 'V in an outward motion', <u>-thə</u> 'V in an downward motion' and <u>-khət</u> 'V in a upward motion' is illustrated in (15), (16) and (17) respectively.

(15) əynə   inkholdəgi   yén tanthokí
     əy-nə   inkhon-təgi   yén tan   -thok-í
     I -CNTR garden-abl   hen drive-out -nhyp
     I   from the garden hen drove out
     I drove away the hen from the garden.   BN5.4d

(16) onthəkhrədəwni
      on-thə -khi -lə -təw -ni
      be-down-still-pro-oblg-COP
      (Had the road been a little narrower, we) were
      going to fall down (the hill).   RSS80

(17) nuŋsit   sitləkpədə   ləsiŋ
      nuŋ-sit   sit -lək -pə -tə   ləsiŋ
      etc -blow blow-dist-nom-loc   cotton
      wind   when it blew   cotton

      púmnəmək   paykhətləmmí
      púm-nə -mək   pay-khət-ləm-í
      all-adv-EACH   fly-up -evd-nhyp
      all   flew up
      When the wind came, all the cotton flew up.   BN4.e

-thok 'V in an outward motion', may be used
idiomatically to mean 'to V carelessly, to V with abandon'.
This is illustrated in (18) and (19).

(18) thandokpə   (19)   kə́pthokpə
      than -thok-pə   kə́p-thok-pə
      light-out -nom   cry-out -nom
      to light more lamps than   to weep openly
      necessary   BN5.10.15   BN5.11.12

-khət 'V in an upward motion' may also be used in a
metaphoric sense to mean 'grow, get bigger'.

(20) čawkhətkədəwribəni
     čaw-khət-kə -təw -li -pə -ni
     big-up -pot-oblg-prog-inf-COP
     It will be developed.   əMUK142

There are some semantic restrictions to the use of these directional markers. As pointed out by Bhat and Ningomba (1986:5.8), there are semantic classes of verbs that do not inherently imply some direction of action. For example, the verb _jump_ or _fly_ can refer to an action that is performed in an upward, downward, inward or outward direction. A verb from this semantic class can be suffixed by any one of the four directional suffixes.

Additionally, there are semantic classes of verbs that inherently refer to a particular direction of action. Thus, _thá_ 'plant' which occurs with an inward/downward movement, can occur with the suffix _-sin_ 'in' but cannot occur with the suffix _-thok_ 'out'. Similarly, _phoy_ 'uproot by hand', can occur with the suffix _-thok_ 'out' but cannot suffix _-sin_ 'in'.

Finally, there is a semantic class of verbs with which it is either odd or impossible to specify a direction of action. These are verbs such as _eat_, _cry_, or _die_. In these cases these four directional suffixes cannot be used to specify the direction of occurrence.

As illustrated in (21-23), the suffixes _-thok_, _-khət_ and _-thə_ have an extended aspectual reading. As seen in (21) _-thok_ may be used to mean 'to all out V, completely V, finish Ving'; as seen in (22) _-khət_ can be used to signify

'to begin to V' and as seen in (23) <u>-thə</u> can be used to mean 'to continue to V'.

(21) čáthokkhəre

    čá-thok-khi -lə   -e

    eat-out-still-perf-asrt

    ate up all (of it)   HH50

(22) pákhətlo   (23)   ŋaythəbə

    pá -khət-lə -o   ŋay-thə -pə

    read-up -pro-SOLCT   wait-down-nom

    start reading (read ahead)   continue to wait

               NG97.2   BN5.13.10

(22) is an interesting example since it shows that the meaning of the suffix is not in conflict with the inherent direction implied by the verb: since <u>-khət</u> here is not being used to mean 'up', it can be suffixed to a verb that implies a downward movement.

7.1.2 Second level derivation

The second level derivational suffixes consist of 19 morphemes which belong to one of 10 categories listed in Table 4.

Table 4: Second level derivational suffixes

Category 1: -min   'comitative'
          -nə   'reciprocal'
Category 2: -pi   'V for someone other than self'
          -čə   'V for sake of self'
Category 3: -hən   'causative'
Category 4: -niŋ   'wish to V'
Category 5: -mən   'V to excess'
          -kən   'V habitually, repeatedly'
Category 6: -həw   'V in the nick of time'
          -khi   'V ahead or behind expected time'
Category 7: -ləm   'indirect evidence'
Category 8: Directionals:
          -lə   'proximal'
          -lək   'distal'
          -lu   'action away from speaker'
Category 9: -tə   'negative'
Category 10: -lə   'prospective aspect'

These semantically defined categories predict co-occurrence restrictions between members of the same category since morphemes which signal analogous meanings never co-occur. For example, a verb will never be suffixed by two markers from the "direction" category: if a verb is marked by _-lə_ 'proximal' (which indicates that an action takes place near the speaker), it would be semantically anomalous for that same verb to be marked by the distal marker _-lək_ (which indicates that an action was performed at a distance from the speaker). Thus the semantic categorization of the markers in this section displays the (1) semantic similarity and (2) the co-occurrence restrictions of the

morphemes that are members of the same category.

The order of categories given in Table 4 is the order in which the markers appear in the stem. However, these numbered positions do not represent position classes; instead they represent the most common orders attested. Thus the order of derivational morphemes is free. Sequences are ruled out because they are semantically awkward even though they might be understandable.

7.1.2.1 Category 1: Reciprocal/ Comitative

In sections 7.1.2.1 to 7.1.2.10 each of the 2LD morphemes is described. I begin with category 1 which consists of the markers -nə 'reciprocal' and -min 'comitative', which are used to indicate whether the relevant action is performed in conjunction with others. -nə indicates that the actors(s) of a sentence perform some action with each other whereas -min indicates that the action is performed together. To put it in another way: with -min the actors perform the same action at the same time in a group whereas -nə refers to two or more people doing some action in conjunction with each other or one person joining in to perform an action with another. Thus oppose (24) with (25).

(24) khəŋnəy
    khəŋ-nə   -i
    know-recip-nhyp
    know each other
          Prb40a

(25) tumminŋəydə
    tum -min   -ŋəy   -tə
    sleep-together-during-loc
    when sleeping together
          HM25.80.6a

The two markers can appear together to indicate an action that the actor performs in conjunction with and at the same time as another person.

(26)   čánəminnənə́bəni
        čánə- min   -nə -nə́bə   -ni
        feast-together-recip-in order to -COP
        it is in order to have a feast together

The sequence -minnə may also appear as a lexicalized sequence meaning 'together' since it is possible to get both the reciprocal marker -nə and the sequence -minnə in a single word:

(27)   čətnəminnəhəwbənə
        čát-nə   -minnə   -həw -pənə
        go -recip-together-start-due to
        it is better if you go together with her

Collective verbs, which encode activities that are typically performed in conjunction with at least one other person, are formed from the combination of a lexical base and the reciprocal suffix.   (28) is a list of such lexicalized forms.

(28) čábə   'to eat'   čánəbə 'to feast'
     čə́tpə   'to go'   čə́tnəbə 'to be customary'
     thénbə   'to reach'   thénnəbə 'to meet'
     sanbə   'to canter' sannəbə 'to play'

The reciprocal marker may be used in a sentence with -sen

'self' to provide a distributive reading to the sentence:

(29) məkhoy məsen   pəysa   pínərəmmí
     mə-khoy mə-sen   pəysa   pí -nə   -ləm-í
     3P-hpl 3P-self   money   give-recip-evd-nhyp
     they   themself money   gave each other
     They each gave money to the other.

7.1.2.2 Category 2: V for the sake of self/other

-pi (derived from the verb pí 'give') is used to
signify that an action is performed to or for someone other
than the actor. This action may be advantageous (see (30))
or detrimental (see (31)) to the recipient of the action.

(30) yéŋsinbirəbədi
     yéŋ-sin-pi -lə -pə -ti
     see -in-rec-pro-nom-DLMT
     'If the (parents) look into these things (for the
     children's sake)...'   əMUK49

(31) nə́ŋnə   mábu   yámnə   čəyhətpire
     nə́ŋ-nə   má-pu yám-nə čəy -hət -pi-lə   -e
     you -CNTR he-pat lot-adv beat-kill-rec-perf-asrt
     you   him   a lot   abused
     You gave him a lot of abuse.   Pt45.1

Matisoff (1989:40-45) reports that the verb pi 'give'
undergoes what he argues is a universally available pattern
of grammaticalization (cf. his discussion of the verb give
in Yao Samsao, Vietnamese, Khmer, Mandarin), to form a
benefactive or causative marker in Tibeto-Burman languages

such as Lahu. To relate this observation to the facts in
M: the lexicalized meaning for p̲i̲ 'give' falls somewhere
between a benefactive (since the action performed may be
detrimental and not beneficial to the recipient) and a
causative (since the actor causes something to happen to
the recipient).

The suffix -čə̲ (derived from the stem č̲á̲ 'body'), is
used to indicate that an action is performed for the sake
of the performer.

(32)
nə̂ŋ (32)
nə̂ŋ nə̂ŋ thəbək   təwriŋnəydə   im -čə -lu -nu
you nə̂ŋ thəbək   təw-li -ŋəy -tə ˌeep-self-pro-probh
you you work   do-prog-during-locₒn't sleep
(For you work   when doing   sleep while you are on
duty.   GR.Q42

-čə̲ works secondarily as an emphatic reflexive marker
in the sense that the action is performed with no
initiation other than the initiative of the actors. For
example, in (33) a group of children relate that they have
performed a required action without parental guidance:

(33)   č̲ásənminnəjərəkkhî
       č̲á-sən-min   -nə   -čə   -lək -khi -î
       eat-in-together-recip-self-dist-still-nhyp
       We ate up by ourselves when we were over there.
                                                 GR.Q89

There are a number of verbs which are frozen forms

containing the suffix -čə:

(34)

phəbə 'to be good'   phə́zəbə 'to be beautiful'   HM6.208b

pírəge 'like to give' píjərəge 'I would like to serve you
                        food'   JB25.169.6

sibə 'to die   sizəbə 'to commit suicide' HM6.208d

čábə 'to eat'   čázəbə 'to serve food'

thə 'down'   thəzəbə 'to believe'   HM6.208b

It is clear that these are lexicalized forms since
they can be further suffixed by the marker -čə.

(35)   čájəhənjələmləge
       čájə   -hən -čə   -ləm-lə -ke
       serve food-caus-self-evd-pro-opt
       I am going to serve him food myself.   GR.Q53

(36)   əŋáŋsi   cawrəgə   məsánə
       ə -ŋáŋ-si   caw-ləgə   mə -sá   -nə
       att-child-pdet big-after   3P -body-adv
       this child   after growing big her face

       phə́zəjərəkkəni
       phə́jə -čə   -lək -kə -ni
       beauty-self-dist-pot-COP
       will become beautiful
       When this one grows up she will be beautiful.
                                                     HM6.208e.

7.1.2.3 Category 3:   Causative

The causative marker -hǝn is used to indicate that the action indicate in the verb is initiated by one person and carried out by another. Thus compare (37) and (38)

(37) tǝwbǝni
     tǝw-pǝ-ni
     do -nom-COP
     We did the work.

(38) tǝwhǝnbǝni
     tǝw-hǝn -pǝ -ni
     do -caus-nom-COP
     We gave the order for the work to be done.

As discussed in section 7.2.16, the scope of the causative marker is determined by what position it occurs in. See also Chapter 4, for a discussion of some syntactic consequences of the causative marker.

7.1.2.4 Category 4:   niŋ 'desire to V'

-niŋ 'wish' indicates a desire on the part of the speaker to have performed some action either at some past instance or in the future.

(39) ǝynǝ   tóŋsi   lónniŋí
     ǝy-nǝ   tóŋ-si   lón -niŋ -í
     I -CNTR lock-pdet lock-wish -nhyp
     I   this lock wish to lock
     I wish to lock this door.   HM25.127.8

7.1.2.5 Category 5: Speaker's attitude towards what extent V is performed

The suffix -mən 'in excess' is used to describe an action that is performed in excess.

(40) əy čák   čáməlle
      əy čák   čá-məl   -lə   -e
      I rice   eat-excess-perf-asrt
      I rice   eaten too much
      I've eaten too much rice.   PCT115.2

The suffix -kən, derived from the verb kənbə 'to save', is used indicate an action that is performed repeatedly where such repetition is not called for.

(41) nókkənbə
      nók -kən   -pə
      laugh-repeat-nom
      someone who laughs all the time whether or not
      there is a joke, laughs as a habit.   HM25.131.4

The suffix may also indicate habitual action.

(42) əydi   yámnə   pígənbə   míni
      əy-ti   yám -nə pí -kən   -pə mí -ni
      I -DLMT much-adv give-repeat-nom man-COP
      I   a lot   always giving   man am
      I am a very generous man.   HM25.131.6

7.1.2.6 Category 6: Speaker's attitude towards the time frame within which V is performed

The root **həw** 'start' (PCT:112, HM15.79) is used as the inceptive suffix **-həw** to signify the initiation of an action that has led to the attainment of a state.[5] The use of **-həw** implies that there is a limited window of opportunity within which the action may have been/ may be initiated. Thus in (43), the speaker is unable to begin eating at the required time.

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[5] According to BN (1986:4.28), **-həw** is used to signify causation. Sentences such as (i) are given as evidence. However, it is clear that the causation meaning is a result of the subordinating morphology and not the presence of **-həw**.

(i) məhaknə   purəktúnə   əy cáhəwwí

    mə -hak -nə   pu   -lək -túnə əy cá -həw   -í

    3PP-here-CNTR bring-dist-ing I   eat-start-NHYP

    he   bringing   I   start eating

    I could eat because he brought something.   BN4.28.8

(43) məkhoy məyámnə   čábədə   əydi
      mə-khoy mə-yám -nə čá -pə -tə əy -ti
      3P-hpl   3P-much-adv eat-nom-loc I   -DLMT
      they   all of them at eatiŋ   I

      čáhəwdəre
      čá -həw -tə -lə -e
      eat-start-neg-perf-asrt
      did not begin to eat
      I didn't get to eat when they were all eating.

                                                    GR.Q21

When an action is succesfully carried out within the
window of opportunity, the meaning of having 'initiated V
successfully or having managed to V' is obtained:

(44) thugayhəwrəbəni
      thu -khay-həw -lə -pə -ni
      break-cut -start-perf-nom-COP
      It is a good thing that that was broken (when it
      was).   JB25.171.1

(45) əynə   phə́ŋhəwribədudi
      əy-nə   phə́ŋ-həw -li -pədu   -ti
      I -CNTR   get   -start-prog-dcomp -DLMT
      I   managed to get
      'the one that I (managed to) have...'   HM6.206.33

When the action is to be carried out in the future, it
signifies the suitability or desirability of doing the
action. When used with the imperative marker, -həw can be
used to encourage the initiation of an action at a

propitious moment:

(46)   nəhak   čák   čáhəwdəko
         nə-hak   čák   čá -həw   -tə-ko
         2P-here rice eat-start-nes-TAG
         you   food must start to eat, O.K.
         You must eat (now), all right?   Prb.Q6

The marker, -khi, indicates the speaker's attitude or expectation about the time frame within which an action is performed or a state is attained. Thus the speaker can indicate that an action continues to be performed past the expected state (where it is translated as 'still Ving, continue Ving'), completed before the expected state (where it is translated as 'already Ved) or not begun at the appropriate time (where it is translated as 'is yet to V'). Exactly which of these meanings is signalled by -khi is determined by the tense of a sentence.

When the sentence is in the past tense, the suffix indicates that the action was performed before the expected time as indicated by the gloss 'already Ved'. Thus compare (47) and (48) below:

(47)   məhak   láyriksi   párəmmí
         mə-hak   láyrik-si   pá -ləm-í
         3P-here book -pdet read-evd-nhyp
         he   this book   read
         He read this book.

(48)   məhaknə   láyriksi   pákhirəmmí
         mə-hak -nə   láyrik-si   pá -khi -ləm-í
         3P-here-CNTR book -pdet   read-still-evd-nhyp
         he   this book   already read
         He has read this book already.   HM12.49

Native speaker judgements show that whereas (49) implies that the speaker tried to stop the actor from reading the book but failed at this attempt, (48) does not have this implication (HM25.109.2). This is reading is also obtained with uncertain past tense which is obtained with the use of the indirect evidence marker -ləm.

(49)   nə́ŋ soydə́nə   hapkhirəmgəni
         nə́ŋ soy   -tə́nə   hap-khi -ləm-kə -ni
         you certain-by   put-still-evd-pot-COP
         you surely   already must have given
         You must have surely already have given him (the
         money).'   Prb.Q55b

When a sentence in the past tense has negative or nonpotential marking the meaning obtained is 'not already Ved, not yet Ved, still not Ved' where the speaker expects the action to have been completed by the time of speech but

it is not.[6]

(50) čákhirəmdre
      čá -khi -ləm-tə -lə -e
      eat-still-evd-neg-perf-asrt
      He still had not eaten.   Prb.Q53

When the sentence has a future tense reading, the
meaning signalled by the suffix is that the action should
be performed before any other. Thus the meaning obtained
is that an action not explicitly stated in the verb bearing
-khi marking should not be performed yet.

(51) əy čák čákhini
      əy čák čá -khi -ni
      I rice eat-still-COP
      I food will eat
      (Let's not go yet, first) I will eat.   Prb.Q51

Similarly, with imperative sentences, the meaning
obtained with -khi marking is that the verb should be
performed before any other.

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[6] Since -khi refers to an action already completed in
the past, it often carries the implication that the subject
has left the place of action after the action has been
performed. I assume that this is what has led both BN
(1986: 5.19) and NG (1987:59) to analyze -khi (analyzed by
both writers as being underlying /-khə/ with an allomorph
[khi]), as a directional marker meaning to 'V away from
some place or time.' See below for explanation about the
alternation of -khi and -khə.

(52) khərə wátli   thəwkho
      khərə wát -li   thəw -khi -o
      some   lack-prog   drive-still-solct
      some   lacking   won't you still drive
      (Don't stop yet), go on driving a little further.
                                      YS225.21a

     If the verb contains the nonpotential marker (the
primary way of marking negation if the future tense), the
meaning obtained is that the action specified in verb
should be performed after some (unspecified) action is
performed first. In these cases the meaning 'should not
yet V' is obtained. As seen in (54) the same meaning is
obtained with the prohibitive marker.

(53)
məkhoy laktri   pháwbə əy čák čákhiroy
mə-khoy lak -tə -li   pháw-pə əy čák čá -khi -loy
3P-hpl come-neg-prog till-nom I rice eat-still-npot
they   not coming   till   I food not eat yet
I should not eat yet, (I should wait) till they come.
                                      HM6.142.6

(54) nə́ŋ čák čákhinu
      nə́ŋ čák čá-khi -nu
      you rice eat-still-probh
      you rice don't yet eat
      Don't eat yet (wait till I get home).   GR.Q52b

     In a sentence with present tense reading the marker
-khi gives the meaning of 'still Ving' where the speaker
expects or wishes that the action has ended or is surprized

that it continues.[7]

(55) čákhidrəne
       čá-khi   -tə -lə -ne
       eat-still-nes-INT-SI
       They're still eating, right?   JB25.180.3

It is not possible to use -khi with first person actor
in the past tense without first setting up the temporal
limits of the activity.   Thus (56) and (58) are
ungrammatical unless part of a narrative of what the actor
did during a particular occasion as in (57) and (59).

(56) *əy láyriksi   pákhí
       əy láyrik-si pá -khi -í
       I book -pdet read-still-nhyp
       I the book   still read
       I read the book.   HM25.107.2a

(57) əy məphə́m   əsidə   láyrik pákhí
       əy mə-phə́m   ə -si -tə láyrik pá -khi -í
       I nm-place   att-pdet-dat book   read-still-nhyp
       I that place that   book   read
       I read that book (the whole time I was) at that
       place.   HM25.107.2b

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[7] It is this reading that underlies the analysis of
-khi as a progressive aspect marker in BN (1986:3.15) and
NG (1987:55).

(58) *əynə   turendə   irujəkhi
      əy-nə   tu   -len -tə i   -lu -čə -khi -i
      I-CNTR stream-best-loc water-bath-self-still-nhyp
      I   to the river   bathed
      I've gone to the river to bathe.   Pt41.6

(59)
əynə   əshəy turendə   irujəkhi
əy-nə   əshəy tu   -len -tə i   -lu -čə -khi -i
I -CNTR   ago   stream-best-loc water-bath-self-still-nhyp
I   while back to river   bathed
I went to the river and bathed a little while ago. Pt41.7

Since the marker -khi does not deal with the internal
temporal constituency of a situation, I do not consider it
to be an aspect marker. Although it does not signal the
typical types of meanings expected from deontic or
epistemic mood markers, it does fall under the realm of
epistemic modality in that the speaker must believe that
the stated action has or will occur before being able to
comment on its timeliness. This is reflected in native
speaker judgements which claim that the speakers of such
sentences are stating a certain fact. This becomes
especially clear with future tense for which translations
like 'certainly will V/should V' are given (HM14.56.8,
BMDT29, PCT). Also, when -khi is used in the past tense
the speaker has some visual or auditory evidence to support
the fact. Thus compare (60) and (61).

(60)   (61)

čăkhre   čăre

čă-khi   -lə -e   čă -lə -e

eat-still -perf-asrt   eat-perf-asrt

(I saw he had) already   (He told me) he has eaten.

eaten.   HM12.61a   HM12.61b

-khi may also be considered to signal deontic mood in the sense that the speaker is signalling a desire that the world conform to his/her word.

Note that when -khi 'still' is followed by -lə 'perfect', -li 'progressive' or -o 'solicitive', the final vowel of -khi deletes.Also, l becomes r between vowels (by the Flapping rule, see Chapter 10). Thus -khi + -lə 'perfect' is -khrə and -khi + -li is -khri and -khi + o is -kho. The sequence -khrə may occur with an epenthetic ə, so that khrə surfaces as khərə. This epenthetic vowel is used to break up Cr or rC clusters in enunciated speech : for example Manipurdə 'at Manipur' is pronounced as Manipurədə. Additionally, GR gives (62) and (63) as alternants:

(62) čăkhərəge   (63) čăkhrəge
      čă-khi -lə -ke
      eat-still-pro-opt
      I am going to eat here
      (first, before going).   Prb.Q10

Finally, the sequence khərə might simplfy to khə.

(64)   čə́tkhəgədəwribə
       čə́t-khi -lə -kə -təw -li -pə
       go-still-pro-pot-oblg-prog-nom
       are about to be going (back)   BMD26.46.2

7.1.2.7 Category 7:   Indirect evidence

The marker <u>-ləm</u> indicates that the speaker has
indirect evidence, knowledge gained through inference based
on indisputable external data, to support the truth of a
proposition. For example, in (65) and (66) the speaker
has/sees evidence that the relevant action has occurred.
The speaker is not an eyewitness to the actual action but
only to the result, conclusion or final stages of the
action.

(65)   əynə   čátkhibədə   má čák čə́rəmmi
       əy-nə   čát-khi -pə -tə   má čák čə́-ləm-li
       I-CNTR go -still-nom-loc he rice eat-evd-prog
       I   upon going   he food eating
       When I arrived there he was obviously eating
       dinner.   HM12.45

(66)   məhak   čárəmkhre
       mə-hak   čá-ləm-khə -lə -e
       3P-here eat-evd-still-perf-asrt
       he   already eaten
       He has obviously eaten already.   GR12.13

<u>-ləm</u> can be used to oppose the speaker's knowledge
which is based on evidence no longer available, with the
hearer's ignorance concerning the content of the

proposition.

(67) mətəm əmədə   məhak   yámnə   phə́zərəmmí
      mətəm ə -mə -tə mə-hak yám-nə phə́zə-ləm -í
      time   att-one-loc 3P-here lot-adv pretty-evd-nhyp
      time   at one   he   much   was beautiful
      (You can't see it but) Once upon a time she was
      very beautiful.   HM12.84.

With present and future tense, the speaker infers that
the action/situation in the verb must be or will come into
being. This inference is based on past experience which
allows the speaker to predict a trend in behavior.

(68)
mənəykhoydə   čə́tkhibədu   čáhəlləmgəni
mə-nəy -khoy-tə čə́t-khi -pədu čá-həl   -ləm-kə -ni
3P-aunt-hpl -loc go -still-dcomp eat-caus -evd-pot-COP
at aunt's and their when goes   will cause to eat
On going to her aunt's house (Sita) is forced to eat.
                                            GR12.12

-ləm may appear with first person actors in past or
present tense where the marker indicates that whereas the
speaker has evidence about the truth of a proposition, the
hearer does not. That is, the speaker directly experiences
the action but evidence of the action is not present at the
time of speech. A sentence with a first person actor and
-ləm marking in the verb is used commonly in personal
narratives. Tony Woodbury has pointed out to me that this
use of the indirect marker is reminiscent of "perspective"
questions in Sherpa where the speaker takes the perspective

of the hearer in order to establish empathy with the hearer. Under such an interpretation, (69) is acceptable (BMD26.46). However, when the speaker is not taking the perspective of the hearer (69) is ungrammatical since it would be anomalous for a speaker to claim indirect evidence for an action and at the same time be a participant in that action.

(69) əy čák čárəmme
     əy čák čá -ləm -lə -e
     I rice eat -evd -perf-asrt
     I food have eaten
     I have eaten.   Prb.Q12a

In a sentence with a 1st person actor in the future tense the speaker predicts the performance of an action or attainment of state. These predictions are inferences of the speaker based on currently available information. The hearer does not now, and will not in the future see evidence of the action. Thus in (70) the speaker predicts that the hearer will arrive after the initiation of the action and will not be a direct witness to it.

(70) əy čák čárəmgəni
     əy čák čá -ləm -kə -ni
     I rice eat -evd -pot-COP
     I food will eat
     I will be eating (when you come to see me).
                                    HM12.45

Combinations with the marker -ləm and imperative or causative morphology do not have a predictable meaning, and

therefore can be considered lexicalized. The person giving the command expects the order to be carried out when they are not present. So, the speaker will not see the action being performed. Thus in (71) the hearer is asked to perform some action when the speaker is not present.

(71) əpəl čárəmmu
      əpəl čá-ləm -u
      apple eat-evd -imp
      apple eat
      Eat this apple (when I have gone).

(72) nə́ŋ əy laktribə   pháwbə   ŋəyrəmmu
      nə́ŋ əy lak -tə -li   -pə pháw-pə   ŋəy-ləm -u
      you I come-neg-prog -nom till-nom wait-evd-imp
      you I haven't yet come   until   wait
      Wait till I come.

In (73), the speaker is the instigator of an action, the result of which can be seen by both the speaker and hearer (man lying on the ground).

(73) mábu   əynə   sənnə   wáyhənləmme
      má-pu əy-nə   sən-nə   wáy -hən -ləm-lə   -e
      he-def I -CNTR cow-CNTR gore-cause-evd-perf-asrt
      he   I   the cow caused to gore
      I ordered the cow to gore the man.

The facts discussed about -ləm are summarized in Table 5.

-ləm has been analyzed as a marker of direction or sequentiality (Pettigrew 1912). It is true that

directionality is implied by -ləm since the marker
indicates that the speaker arrives at the scene of the
action (by moving towards it), after it has been initiated.
A similar relationship between deixis and evidentiality is
described by Silverstein (1978:241) in Wasco-Wishram, where
the marker which derives noun phrases of adverbial value
(e.g. 'outside' from 'out') and locates actions with
respect to a place (e.g. 'to go down into') develops into
the marker of the "passive of evidence" construction (e.g.
'As can be surmised based on evidence, X has been Ved').
Silverstein thinks that, "the passives of evidence
originally entered Wasco-Wishram idiomatic speech as forms
pointing out where such-and-such an action took place, as
a conversational equivalent to referring to the evidence
for that action." A similar scenario might be sketched for
M where a directional suffix -ləm with a neutral
directional meaning acquires an added evidential reading.[8]

Since the marker indicates that the initiation of an
action is complete at the time when the speaker becomes
cognizant of the action, -ləm is commonly used for the
narration of past events. For this reason it is often
analyzed as a past tense marker (BN, 1986:4.15), a perfect
marker (Salam Gourababu Singh, 1988:22) or a perfective
marker (NG, 1987:165). However, as has been discussed
above, the marker may also be used to with future tense.

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[8] This neutral reading for -ləm is not currently
attested in M. However it is present in other TB
languages: for example, Michailovsky (1989) describes a
locative particle lo in Hayu which is a reflex of PTB, *lam
'road, way' (Matisoff, 1989:7).

Furthermore, a simple aspect label for this marker would indicate that no additional pragmatic information is provided with its use and, given the additional pragmatic information provided by it, this would certainly be a misleading characterization of -ləm.

Table 5: Evidential values of -ləm depending on person of actor.

Person of Actor	Tense	Situation
1st	past and present	the speaker underwent/is undergoing the experience to which the hearer was/is not a witness
1st	future	sufficient evidence for the speaker to make a hypothesis about the future
2nd/3rd	past and present	the speaker is not an eyewitness to the action but sees residual evidence of occurrence
2nd/3rd	future (imperative or causative) -inferential -experiential	the speaker does not see the result of the command/instigation of the action

7.1.2.8 Category 8: Directionals

There are three markers which indicate the position of the actor with regards to the position of the speaker. First, the proximal marker -lə indicates that the actor performs an action at the place of the speech act.

(74)   mánə   nuŋtigi   əygidə
        má-nə   nuŋti-ki   əy-ki -tə
        he-CNTR   day   -gen   I -gen-loc
        he   everyday   to my place

        laktúnə   čák čárərí
        lak -túnə   čák čá -lə -li -í
        come-ing   food eat -tdir-prog-nhyp
        coming   food to be eating here
        He comes here everyday to my place and eats.

HM12.51

Second, the distal marker -lək (derived from the verb lak 'go') , is used to indicate that an action takes place (as in (75)), or is initiated at some location other than where the speech act occurs (as in (76)).

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(75) mánə   apəl čárə?í
      má-nə   apəl čá-lək -í
      3P-CNTR apple eat-dist-nhyp
      he   apple ate
      He ate an apple over there.   HMQ1.10a

(76) mánə   apəl čárə?i
      má-nə   apəl čá-lək -li
      3P-CNTR apple eat-dist-prog
      he   apple came eating
      When he came here he was eating an apple.   HMQ1.10b

The third directional marker is -lu, which indicates
that an action takes place somewhere away from or moving
away from the location of the speaker. This marker can be
distinguished from the distal marker -lək in that with -
lək there is an implication that the actor performs (or is
still performing) an action and then approaches the place
of speech whereas with -lu the actor moves away from place
of speech to perform some action.

(77)
mígidə   čə́ttúnə kərigi   čák čáruri
mí -(77)   čák čá-lu   -li
man-mígidə   čə́ttúnə kərigi   rice eat-adir -prog
to ʰmí -gi -tə čə́t-túnə kəri-ki son food there to eat
Why man-gen-loc go -ing what-gen?   HM12.51

(78)   əydi   Kəlkuta   čə́tlure
       əy-ti   Kəlkuta   čə́t-lu -lə   -e
       I-DLMT Calcutta   go -adir-perf-asrt
       I   Calcutta   have gone
       I went to Calcutta.   GR200

As in other Tibeto-Burman languages (for a discussion of similar facts in Lahu, see Matisoff (1973:320), and in Jinghpaw and Burmese see DeLancey, (1980:163)), the directional markers can be used to signal aspectual meanings. The extension of meanings of directional markers to cover aspectual oppositions follows a pattern observed for locative expressions in non Tibeto-Burman languages as well. Comrie (1976:106) points out that in English the motion **towards** serves as "the model for prospective meaning," so that in I'm going to write a letter, the speaker is moving in time towards an action that is to come about. Furthermore, Comrie argues that the motion "**from** serves as the model for perfect meaning," as in the English sentence I have just written a letter, where speaker is seen as physically emerging from an activity.

Similary in M, the proximal marker -lə which indicates the movement of the actor towards the place where the speech act occurs is used to mark prospective aspect. This use of this directional marker as a marker of aspect is lexicalized in M. The result is two distinct, homophonous markers -lə where one is the proximal marker and the other is the prospective. This is evidenced by forms such as (79) where both markers appear.

(79) məkhoy   lakləgə   sidə   tumlərəni
      mə-khoy   lak -ləgə   si -tə   tum -lə   -lə -ni
      3P-hpl   come-after   pdet-loc sleep-tdir-pro-COP
      they   after coming here   going to sleep here
      After coming they are going to sleep here. HM.12.79

Further discussion of the prospective marker is given in section 7.2.15.

The directional marker -lək which indicates the emergence of the actor towards the place of speech after the completion (or successful instigation of) an action implies perfect aspect. Thus (80) implies that Chawba has completed cutting the rope.

(80)
Chawbənə   thəwri   ədu   kə́kthətləkpəni
Chawbə-nə   thəw -li   ə -tu   kə́k-thət-lək -pə -ni
Chawbə-CNTR heart-string att-ddet cut-pull-dist-nom-COP
Chawbə   rope   that   completed cutting there
Chawbə cut up the rope and came.   JB25.168.7

In addition to Comrie's observation about the expression of perfect and potential aspect with directional markers, M shows the signalling of inchoative aspect by the directional marker -lu. Recall that -lu indicates that an act has been performed away from the speech act with the emphasis being placed on the the movement of an actor from the place where the speech act occurs to the place where action is to take place. This emphasis on the originating position of the actor is metaphorically extended to indicate the origin of an action. In sentences such as

(81, 82), the directional marker can be translated as 'developing out of V'.

(81) párubədəgi
      pá -lu -pə-təgi
      read-adir-nom-abl
      from reading   əMUK33

(82) əykhoy ŋáŋnərudə́nə
      əy-khoy ŋáŋ-nə   -lu -tə́nə
      I -hpl talk -recip-adir-by
      we   from our talking together
      '(What's) to come of our talking like this...'
                                                      əMUK87

     The aspectual meanings signalled by directional markers is summarized in Table 6. Recall that the aspectual use of the distal marker -lək and -lu 'away from speaker' represent an extension in the meaning of the directional marker whereas the aspectual use of the proximal marker -lə is lexicalized at this stage of the language so that there are two distinct markers, one which is the directional marker and the other the aspect marker.

Table 6: Aspectual oppositions signalled through directional markers

	Direction	Aspect
-lək	distal	perfect
-lu	away from speaker	inchoative
-lə	proximal	prospective

7.1.2.9 Category 9: Negative

The negative marker -tə can be used to describe an action or state that was not or has not up to the time of speech been performed or realized.[9]

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[9] The negative marker can only be used to describe future or hypothetical situations in idioms.

(i) nóksi   kəday nóktəsi   kəday

    nók -si   kəday nók -tə -si   kəday

    laugh-exhort where laugh-neg-exhort where

    let's laugh   where let's not laugh where

    I'm at a loss as to what to do.   HM25.98.5

    The sentence literally means, 'Let's laugh, then where (am I), let's not laugh then where (am I).

(83) əy photostat təwde
      əy photostat təw-tə -e
      I photostat do -neg-asrt
      I photostat do not make
      I haven't made copies.   HM18.38.1c

The negative marker occurs with the assertive marker
-e (as seen in (83)), but never with the nonhypothetical
marker -i. The reason for this may be stated as follows:
when the negative marker is used, the speaker must be aware
of the nonexistence or the nonoccurrence of a particular
event or state. Thus the assertive marker -- which refers
to particular events -- rather than the nonhypothetical
marker -- which refers to a general or constant truth -- is
used. Thus whereas a constant situation or reccurring
action that does take place is expressed with the
nonhypothetical marker (84), a similar situation or action
that does not take place, must be indicated with the
negative marker -tə and assertive marker -e (85).

(84) Kashmirdə   un   tay
      Kashmir-tə un   ta -i
      Kashmir-loc snow fall-nhyp
      in Kashmir snow falls
      It snows in Kashmir.   HM18.24.3

(85) Manipurdə   un   tade
      Manipur-tə un   ta -tə -e
      Manipur-loc snow fall-neg-asrt
      in Manipur snow does not fall
      It hasn't snowed in Manipur.   HM18.22.3b

The past or present nonexistence of situations or states are expressed in nominalized form only.

(86) Jondi   ŋá   yámnə   čádəbəni
     Jon -ti   ŋá   yám-nə čá -tə -pə -ni
     John-DLMT fish lot-adv eat-neg-nom-COP
     John   fish a lot   does not eat
     Don't serve John more fish because he doesn't eat
     fish.   HM18.41.2b

A second alternative is to use the independent sentential negator nətte:

(87) pərikhyadu satrə yámnə   pas təwbə   nətte
     pərikhya-tu satrə yám-nə   pas təw-pə   nətte
     test   -ddet student lot-adv pas do -nom not
     the test   student lots   pass to do   not
     The people who administer these exams don't pass a
     lot of people.   HM24.201.4

A double negative construction, where both the sentential negative and the negative marker -tə appear, can be used to assert a fact that is contrary to what the hearer has asserted or expects to be the case.

(88) məhak   Moirangdə čə́ttəbə   nətte
     mə-hak   Moirang-tə čə́t-tə -pə   nətte
     3P-here Moirand-loc go -neg-nom not
     he to   Moirang   not going   is not
     It is not that he doesn't go to Moirang.   HM18.21

7.1.2.10 Category 10: Prospective aspect -lə

The prospective aspect -lə, indicates an action which is viewed from the point of its initiation. It can be translated as 'was/is/will be going to V.'

(89) məhak   əybu   ŋəydúnə   lə́yrəmməgəni
      mə-hak   əy-pu   ŋəy-túnə   lə́y-ləm-lə -kə -ni
      3P-here   I -pat wait-ing   be -evd-pro-pot-COP
      he   for me waiting   probably is waiting
      He is probably going to be waiting for me.

(90) tumlurəbə   mətuŋdə   míyámdu
      tum -lu -lə -pə   mə-tuŋ-tə   mí -yám -tu
      sleep-adir-pro-nom   nm-back-loc man-much-ddet
      gone to sleep   later   the group of men

      háwgətnərəkkhi
      háw -khət-nə   -lək -khi
      start-up -recip-dist-still
      we woke up
      We were just going to sleep when they all those men
      got here.   HM12.76

As noted in section 7.2.10, the prospective marker is derived from the proximal marker -lə. The aspectual meaning of the marker is influenced by its orginal meaning as a directional marker which states that an action is oriented towards or takes place where the speaker is situated. As elucidated in Chapter 11, when the prospective marker is used in the future tense, it implies that the speaker is certain that the action described in the

verb is going to occur. Some speakers find it possible to duplicate the prospective marker -la to indicate an emphasis of the certainty of Ving so that it may be used as a warning:[10]

(91)

má laklabadi		amuk	sáwrararani
má lak -la -pa -ti		a-muk	sáw -la -la -la -ni
he come-perf-nom-DLMT		att-once	angry-tdir-pro-pro-COP
he at this coming		once	is certainly going to be angry

(You better watch it), when he comes here he is going to be angrier than we are. HM12.81

---

[10] Out of nine speakers that I questioned, five felt that this was a possible form but four felt it was unacceptable. The marker -khi 'still' has also been given in reduplicated form where (i) is considered a more polite version of the nonreduplicated version.

(i) 　néŋ čák čákhikhinu
　　　néŋ čák čá -khi -khi -nu
　　　you rice eat-still-still-probh
　　　you rice don't yet eat
　　　Don't eat (until I can join you). HM12.57

This form was originally noted in YS. However, when I checked the form with native speakers 2 out of 4 speakers questioned thought the form was ungrammatical. Those who think these reduplicated forms acceptable say that they can be found in poetry or in the poetic language of plays.

(92) má laklәgә   әykhoydә   čák
      má lak -lәgә   әy-khoy-tә   čák
      he come-after   I -hpl -loc rice
      he after coming   to us   food

      čárәrәni   háyrәmmí
      čá-lә -lә -lә -ni   háy-lәm-í
      eat-tdir-pro-pro-COP   day-evd-nhyp
      is certainly going to eat   said
      (We had better believe it) He told me that he was
      certainly going to come and eat at my house.

                                  HM12.62

7.1.3 Third level derivation

The 3LD suffixes can be distinguished from the markers
in listed in Table 4 in that they do not exhibit variable
ordering.   As shown in Table 5, there are 7 3LD markers
which belong to 3 categories.   There can be only one
instantiation of each category and each instantiation must
occur in the order specified (i.e., category 11 before
category 12 and category 12 before 13).   The possible
combinations of mood and aspect markers are discussed in
section 7.1.3.1 to 7.1.3.3.

Table 5:   Third level derivational morphemes

Category 11:

Mood 1   -kə   'potential'

                    -loy   'nonpotential'

Category 12:

Mood 2   -tə   'necessity'

                    -təw   'obligation, probability'

                    -toy   'intention'

Category 13:

Aspect   -li   'progressive'

                    -lə   'perfect'

7.1.3.1   Category 11:   Class 1 mood markers

There are two classes of mood markers in M:

Class 1   **Class 2**

-kə   'potential'   -tə   'necessity'

-loy   'nonpotential'   -təw   'obligation'

                                 -toy   'intention'

Class 1 mood markers may appear individually or in combination with one of the class 2 mood markers where class 1 mood markers appear before class 2 markers in the linear order. Class 1 mood markers indicate the potential (non)occurrence of an action or attainment of state.

(93) sitkəneye   (94) nóŋ curoy

     sit -kə -ne-ye   nóŋ cu   -loy

     sell-pot-SI-CONFM   rain wash -npot

     Someone says that it   rain will not rain

     will sell.   It will not rain.

     HM6.151.8   HM18.22.2b

The potential marker appears with the copula -ni in the sequence -kəni to indicate future tense.

(95) nóŋ   čugəni

     nóŋ   ču   -kə -ni

     rain   wash-pot-COP

     rain   will rain

     It will rain (today).   HM, p.c.

Future tense indicated by the sequence -kəni can be opposed to future tense indicated by the suffixation of the copula directly on a verb root:

(96) əy applə əmə   čáni

     əy applə ə   -mə čá -ni

     I   apple att-one eat-COP

     I will eat an apple.   Prb152

(97) əykhoy Ukhrul čə́tkhrəni

     əy-khoy Ukhrul čə́t-khi -lə -ni

     I -hpl Ukhrul go-still-pro-COP

     we   Ukhrul will go

     We will be going to Ukhrul.   JB15.49.7

Whereas the -kəni sequence indicates the possibility for

future action, the copula indicates that the action will certainly take place in the future.

The potential and nonpotential mood markers may also refer to potentially realizable/unrealizable actions or states in the past. See example (49) for use of -kəni in a sentence with past tense reading.

(98)   jondi   ŋá   yámnə   čároy

          jon -ti   ŋá   yám-nə čá-loy

          John-DLMT fish lot-adv eat-npot

          John   fish a lot   would not eat

          John wouldn't eat more fish (even though we begged him to).   HM18.41.2a.

7.1.3.2 Category 12: Class 2 mood markers

Class 2 mood markers may indicate epistemic or deontic modality. The marker -təw (derived from the stem -təw 'do'), does double duty as an epistemic and a deontic marker. In its use as an epistemic marker -təw indicates a strong probability that an action will take place.

(99)   məhak   čə́ttəwre

          mə -hak   čə́t-təw -lə -e

          3P-here   go -oblg-perf-asrt

          he   must be gone

          He must have gone.   GR.Q392

It is impossible to use the marker -təw in its epistemic sense with first person actors for an event that occurs in the past. This is expected since a speaker knows

what he/she has done, so it would be peculiar to express this in terms of a probability. However, -təw in its epistemic sense may be used with first person actors to express an unrealized past event.

(100) onthəkhrədəwni
    on -thə -khi -lə -təw -ni
    fall-down-still-pro-oblg-COP
    (Had the road been a little narrower, we) should have
    fallen down (the hill).   RSS80

The marker -təw also has a deontic use where it indicates an obligation on the part of the actor to perform some action.

(101) əy dili čə́ttəwri
    əy dili čə́t-təw -li
    I Delhi go-oblg-prog
    I Delhi should go
    I'm going to Delhi (since I have some work I need to
    do there).   Prb.Q205

The marker -toy is a contraction of dərkar óybə. The lexical item dərkar is borrowed from Hindi dərkar 'necessary, needed' (Pathak, 1946) and oy is a form of the verb 'to be'. The full form dərkar oybə means 'to have the responsibility to V'. However, the contracted form, -toy has shifted in meaning to signify an action which the actor intends to perform in the immediate future.

(102) əygi phídu   hánnə   ləyhəwdoyniko
      əy-ki phí -tu hán-nə   ləy-həw -toy -ni -ko
      I-gen cloth -ddet first-adv buy-start-intend-COP-TAG
      I   the cloth first   will buy
      I intend to buy some cloth for myself, O.K.?

                                            SOYBə8

(103) nə́ŋ kərəm mətəmdə   tumdoybə
      nə́ŋ kərəm mə-təm -tə tum -toy -pə
      you how   3P-time-loc sleep-intend-nom
      you how   at time   will sleep
      When do you intend to sleep.   JB15.40.5a

Since -toy indicates an intention of the speaker to perform
some action, it can appear with first person actors but not
with second or third person actors since the speaker cannot
be sure of someone else's intention.

(104) əy čák   čádoyni
      əy čák   čá-toy   -ni
      I rice   eat-intend -COP
      I food   will eat
      I will eat.   BMD.T29

The only circumstances where -toy can be used with second
or third person actors is to indicate encouragement or to
prompt someone to fulfill their duty. In such
constructions the actor must be suffixed by the enclitic
-su 'also'.

(105) másu   čə́ttoyni
    má-su   čə́t-toy   -ni
    he-ALSO go -intend-COP
    he also wants to go
    He also wants to go.   BMD26.41.7a

This deontic use of -toy is also utilized to make the recipient of an action seem more in control of that action. For example in (106) the actor is to receive a salary. The speaker questions the amount of salary to be received by asking how much the actor intends to receive. Even though the actor is not in control of the amount of money that is to be received, it is made to seem as if he/she is.[11]

(106) nəhak   pəysa kəyám   phə́ŋdoybə
    nə-hak   pəysa kəyám   phə́ŋ-toy   -pə
    2P-here money how much find -intend-nom
    you   money how much intend to get
    How much money will you get?   JB15.47

The marker -tə is used as an epistemic marker to indicate a certainty.

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[11] The same effect can be obtained by using the optative marker as in (i). The neutral form will be as in (ii).

(i)   phəŋbəge   (ii)   phəŋbəra
    phəŋ-pə -ke   phəŋ-pə-lə
    find-nom-opt   find-nom-INT
    want to get   (what) will get

(107) čákhidrəne

    čá-khi -tə -lə-ne

    eat-still-nes-INT-SI

    They're must still be eating, right?   JB25.180.3

-tə also has a deontic use where it indicates a necessary course of action for the actor. In its epistemic use -tə is always accompanied by the potential suffix -kə.

(108) nəhak   hidak   əsi   čágədəbəniko

       nə-hak   hidak   ə -si   čá -kə -tə -pə -ni -ko

       2P-here medicine att-pdet eat-pot-nes-nom-COP-TAG

       you   medicine this   must eat

       You must take the medicine, O.K.?   JB25.171.5

(109) nə́ŋ məphə́m əsidə   tumgədəbəni

       nə́ŋ mə-phə́m ə -si -tə   tum -kə -tə -pə -ni

       you 3P-place att-pdet-loc sleep-pot-nes-nom-COP

       you place   here   must sleep

       You must sleep here (You have to sleep here if our plans for the morning are to be properly carried out).   HM6.219

It is impossible for a speaker to state the necessity for self to do some action (as seen in (111)), unless this action is contrasted with the action of others.

(110) əynə   dinerdu   məkhoygə
      əy-nə   diner -tu   mə-khoy-kə
      I -CNTR   dinner-ddet 3P-hpl -ass
      I   the dinner   with them

      loynənə   čə́tkədəbəni
      loy -nə   -nə   čə́t-kə -tə -pə -ni
      with-recip-adv   go -pot-nes-nom-COP
      with them   must go
      I must go to the dinner with them (even if you
      don't).   HM24.189.5

(111) *əy čə́tkədəbəni   BMD26.41.5

7.1.3.2.1 Combination of class 1 and class 2 mood markers

Both the potential marker -kə and the negative
potential marker -loy can be suffixed by either -təw, -toy
or -tə.

The distinction between -təw, -toy and -tə and -kədəw,
-kədoy, -kədə is subtle enough that native speakers give
them as variants of each other. The form with the
potential marker seems to refer to a more distant (more
future, hypothetical or possible but unrealized past), than
the class 2 marker by itslf. For example compare the use
of -kədəw and -təw in (118): haygədəwni refers to an
obligation concerning a possible future event whereas
háydəwni refers to obligation once that event has begun to
take place.

(112)

```
əykhoy si  háygədəwni          fas step seken  stepsi
əy-khoy si háy-kə -təw   -ni   fas step seken  step-si
I -pl  pdet say-ass-should-cop 1st step section step-pdet
we     this should say         1st step section the step


háydəwni         thard   step si  háydəwninə
háy-təw   -ni    thard   step si  háy-təw   -ni -nə
say-should-COP   third   step pdet say-should-COP-adv
should say       third   step this should say
We should say this if (we make a chart):   we should say
this step is the first step section....           RSS272
```

(113) is an example of the sequence -kədoy. (114) is an example of the sequence of -kədə where the -tə is used as an epistemic marker.

(113) igədoyribə

    i   -kə -toy   -li -pə

    write-pot-intend-prog-nom

    the one that you intend to write   HM6.146a

(114) onthəkhrəgədəbəni

    on -thə -khi -lə -kə -tə -pə -ni

    fall-down-still-pro-pot-nes-nom-COP

    is going to fall down

When one of the Class 2 markers is suffixed to the nonpotential marker -loy the meaning signalled is a necessity, obliagtion or certainty for the nonrealization of the action expressed in the verb.

(115)   (116)
píroydəwnəbə   phəmmoydoyno
pí -loy -təw -nə -pə   phəm-loy -toy   -no
give-npot-oblg-adv-nom   sit -npot-intend-INQ
We should not give   Why won't you sit here?
(them that chance). RSS38   HM25.20e

(117) jon həyeŋ   čətloydəbəni
      jon həyeŋ   čət-loy -tə -pə -ni
      John tomorrow go -npot-nes-nom-COP
      John tomorrow must not go
      He mustn't go (because that is a troubled area).
                                         HM18.41.1c.

7.1.3.2.2 Combination mood markers with other verbal affixes

When the indirect evidence marker -ləm is combined with a class 1 mood marker it indicates a possible but unconfirmed action for the future. On the other hand, when the indirect evidence marker appears with a class 1 - class 2 mood marker sequence, a past unrealized state is indicated. Thus compare (118) with (119) and (120) with (121).

(118) čətləmgəni
      čət-ləm-kə -ni
      go-evd -pot-COP
      (he) has probably gone

(119) purəkhəlləmgədəbənidə

      pu   -lək -həl -ləm-kə -tə -pə -ni -tə

      carry-dist-caus-evd-pot-nes-nom-COP-CTE

      We should have told Tomba to bring the boy too.

                                   HM25.156.2

(120) čə́tləmmoy   (121) əy čə́tləmloydəbəni

      čə́t-ləm-loy   əy čə́t-ləm-loy -tə -pə-ni

      go -evd-npot   I go -evd-npot-nes-nom-COP

      probably has not gone   I would not have gone

                              (If I had known this would

                              happen) I would not have

                              gone.   HM18.30.13b

Class 1 mood markers cannot be directly suffixed by progressive or perfect aspect markers, they must be suffixed by either -təw or -toy first (as in (122) and (123) for example).

(122) phúgədəwribəni

      phú -kə -təw -li -pə   -ni

      beat-pot-oblg-prog-nom -COP

      you should undergo his beating   BMDT29

(123) phúgədəwrəbəni

      phú -kə -təw -lə -pə   -ni

      beat-pot-oblg-perf-nom-COP

      (you) should be beaten   BMDT29b

A possible semantic explanation for this restriction of aspect marking with potential and nonpotential markers is that in M before a statement can be made about the

internal temporal make-up of an event or action, that event or action must be located in a particular time.

Since class 1 mood markers do not have a time reference (they refer to a potential state in the past, present or future) but class 2 mood markers do (they refer to the desire or prediction of the speaker from his/her present perspective of how the past or future world conforms to the world stated in the proposition), aspect marking can appear with class 2 but not class 1 mood markers.

7.1.3.3 Category 13

Category 13 consists of two aspect markers: the progressive and perfect aspect markers. The marker -li is used to indicate progressive aspect.[12] Thus it can indicate an action that is being carried out in the past (124), present (125) and future (126).

---

[12] The progressive marker -li behaves like an inflectional marker in that (1) it cannot itself be followed by an inflectional marker and (2) a verb may end with the progressive and not require further inflection. Historically, the progressive might be a complex form, a lexicalized combination of an aspect marker and an inflectional marker.

(124) əygi phə́muŋdə   tummibədu   kənano
      əy-ki phə̂m-muŋ   -tə tum -li -pədu kəna-no
      I-gen seat-family-loc sleep-prog-dcomp who -INQ
      us   on bed   that is sleeping who
      Who was it that was sleeping in my bed?   HM12.41

(125) əŋáŋdu   čák čári
      əŋáŋ -tu   čák čá -li
      child -ddet rice eat-prog
      the child   food eating
      The child is eating.   HM12.46

(126) satrəsiŋnə   ingədəwribəni
      satrə -siŋ-nə   in   -kə -təw -li -pə -ni
      student-gpl -CNTR follow-pot-oblg-prog-nom-COP
      the students   should follow
      the students should be following the teachers
                                                  əMUK61

The marker may also be used to encode an existing or
continuous state.

(127) əynə   čə́tniŋlibədi   Delidəni
      əy-nə   čát-niŋ -li -pə -ti Delhi-tə -ni
      I -CNTR go -wish-prog-nom-DLMT Delhi-loc-COP
      I   wishing to go   it is to Delhi
      The place that I'd like to go to is Delhi.
                                                  HM6.136.2

(128) məhak   məsək   ədum   phə́zəri
      mə-hak   mə-sək ə -tum   phə́zə -li
      3P-here 3P-face att-so   beauty-prog
      she   her face thus   is beautiful
      (Even though she is old), she continues to be
      beautiful.   HM.12.83

The perfect marker indicates a completed action which
has relevance at the time of speech. It can be
differentiated from the homophonous prospective aspect
marker in that the prospective aspect marker occurs before
the mood markers whereas the perfect marker appears after
the mood markers. The use of the perfect marker in the
future tense is seen in (99) and (123). The primary way to
express past tense in M is with the sequence -le which is
composed of the perfect marker -lə and the assertive marker
-e:

(129) məhak   lakle
      mə-hak   lak -lə -e
      3P-here come-perf-asrt
      he   has come
      He came.   BN3.12.4

Compare (130) and (131). In (130) the actor has not
had any money for some time whereas in (131) the speaker
has recently run out of money.

(130) láyte   (131) láytre

     láy -tə -e   láy-tə -lə -e

     be-neg -asrt   be -neg-perf-asrt

     I have no money.   I have no money (today).

     HM15.1.31a   HM15.1.31b

7.1.4 Scope differences

The indirect evidence marker -ləm, the causative marker -hən and the markers in category 6 and 7 can appear in different positions (with regard to other derivational morphemes). This variation in order corresponds to scope differences. For example, (132) can be opposed with (133) where the evidential combines -ləm with -khi 'still': in the sequence -khirəm where -ləm has scope over -khi, the meaning obtained is 'probably still V', and with the sequence -rəmkhi the meaning obtained is 'still seems V'.

(132) məhak   čák   čákhirəmmoy

     mə -hak   čák   čá-khi -ləm-loy

     3P-here   rice   eat-still-evd-npot

     he   food   not seem to still eat

     He probably still did not eat.   Prb.Q55

(133) məhak   čátləmkhiroy

     mə-hak   čát-ləm-khi -loy

     3P-here   go -evd-still-npot

     he   still seems to not have left

     It still seems that he has not left.   Prb.Q100

In (134) the marker -khi 'still' has scope over the directional marker -lək whereas in (135) -khi does not

have scope over -lək.

(134) purəkmənkhre

pu   -lək -mən -khi -lə   -e
carry-dist-excess-still-perf-asrt
has carried too much from a distance   NG246.11

(135) paythokpihənkhirəʔəmmí

pay-thok-pi -hən -khi   -lək -ləm-í
fly-out -rec-caus-still-dist-evd-nhyp
Someone set it free/let it fly before I could get
there to make that happen myself.

                                HM.T20A.PCT and NB16.7

Similarly, in (136) the causative marker -hən has
scope over -niŋ 'wish' signalling 'wish to cause to V' as
opposed to (137) where the meaning 'cause to wish to V' is
signalled.

(136) məhaknə   əybu   čániŋhəllí

mə-hak -nə   əy-pu čá-niŋ-həl -í
3P-here-CNTR I -pat eat-wish-caus-nhyp
he   I   cause to want to eat
He made me feel like eating.   NG64h

(137) páhənniŋní

pá   -hən -niŋ -í
read-caus-wish-nhyp
(I) wished to cause him to read   NG64c

Also compare (138) with (139): in (139) the causative
marker -hən has scope over the directional -lək whereas in

(138) it does not. In (139) the action is instigated at a distance and continues to the place of speech whereas in (138), the action is instigated and completed at a distance after which the speaker moves towards the place of speech.

(138) čáhəllə?e

    čá-həl -lək -e

    eat-caus-dist-asrt

    I was made to eat when I was there.   GR12.22

(139) chiti   ədu   purəkhənkhre

    chiti ə -tu   pu -lək-hən -khi   -lə -e

    letter att-ddet carry-dist-caus-still-perf-asrt

    letter that   caused to carry

    (Tomba) caused him (when over there) to bring the letter here (at an earlier time).   JB25.168.10

7.1.5 Inflectional morphology

The inflectional morphology consists of eight illocutionary mood markers: the nonhypothetical -i; the assertive -e; the optative -ke; the imperative -u; the prohibitive -nu; the solicitive -o ; the supplicative -si; and the exhortative -sənu. Only one inflectional morpheme may appear with a given root and the inflectional marker will appear after all derivational morphology and before all enclitics. See Chapter 5 for a detailed discussion of the meanings signalled by these mood markers.

7.2 Noun morphology

The noun in M is composed minimally of a root and an inflectional suffix (chosen from a possible set of case markers which make up the sole inflectional category in the noun).[13] A noun may further be followed by one of the enclitics described in section 7.3.

There are three derivational categories which may optionally precede the final inflectional suffix. These are the categories of Gender, Number and Quantifier. These three levels of derivational morphology are determined on the basis of their distribution: there are no co-occurence restrictions between these categories so that all three categories may be realized in a noun. For example: nupianimaktagi 'from each of the two girls' which consists of nupi 'female child' which contains the female gender marker -pi, the numeral ani 'two', the quantifier -mak 'each' and the case marker -tagi 'ablative' (see also (156)). However, no two markers from the same category may co-occur. The description of the noun given here can be represented as in Figure 2.

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[13] The one exception to this is where, for pragmatic reasons, the case marker may be omitted and an enclitic is used to indicate the pragmatic value of an argument (see Chapter 4).

Figure 2: The structure of the M noun
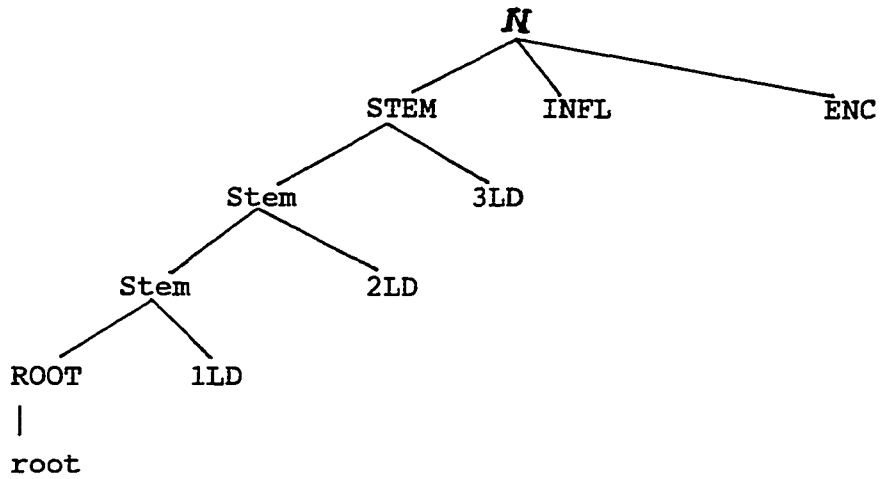
These facts about the structure of the noun can be derived through means of the word structure rules given in Table 9.

Table 9: List of word structure rules for nouns[14]

a. N   --> STEM INFL (ENC)
b. STEM   --> Stem (3rd LD)
c. Stem   --> Stem (2nd LD)
d. Stem   --> ROOT (1st LD)
e. ROOT   --> root (root)

Possible terminal elements of each derivational category and the inflectional category are described in section 7.2.1 and 7.2.2. For the remainder of this section I will discuss the basis on which I distinguish between derivational (DM) and inflectional morphology (IM) in M.

The criterion used to distinguish IM from DM in verbs are relevant for nouns. IM is formally and semantically more productive than DM. First, inflectional morphology is paradigmatic in that every M noun exhibits a paradigm consisting of forms with each of the case markers. This is illustrated in Table 10:

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[14] Note that the word structure rules given for verbs and for nouns are identical in all respects except for the category of the word level node and the possible terminal elements of the derivational and inflectional categories. The rules in Table 1 and Table 9 can be collapsed so that the word level node is W for word. The subcategorization frames of affixes will restrict the rewriting of a particular rule so that only nominal affixes occur with a noun and verbal affixes occur with a verb root.

Table 10: Inflectional paradigm of _nupá_ 'male child'

<u>inflectional affix</u>   <u>root</u>

-nə	'agentive'	nupánə	'by the boy'
-pu	'accusative'	nupábu	'the boy (patient)'
-tə	'locative'	nupádə	'at the boy'
-təgi	'ablative'	nupádəgi	'from the boy'
-ki	'genitive'	nupági	'of the boy'
-kə	'associative'	nupágə	'with the boy'

This is not the case with derivational morphology where there are apparently arbitrary restrictions[15] on which suffixes may occur with which nouns. Thus, as described in section 7.2.1.3.1, the quantifier _lom_ 'approximate' may be used with human but not nonhuman nouns. The formal productivity of IM is complemented by its semantic productivity in that the meanings signalled by IM are regular, easier to predict than the meanings signalled by the DM, which are often idiosyncratic. For example, the plural marker _-khoy_ signals 'more than one' when suffixed to pronouns but, as shown in (153), when it is suffixed to proper names it signals, not several people with the same proper name (as in English <u>The Johns were here.</u> meaning 'All those with the name John were here'), but 'the person with that proper name and his or her extended family'. Finally, in the linear order IM occurs

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[15] There may be a good diachronic reason for the restriction but from a synchronic point of view it is not obvious.

further out from the root than DM.

7.2.1 Derivational morphology

The derivational markers which may occur in each of the three derivational categories are listed in Table 11.

Table 11: Derivational markers of the 3 derivational categories in the M noun.

Category 1: Gender	-pi	'feminine'
	-pá	'masculine'
Category 2: Number	-ciŋ	'generic plural'
	-khoy	'human plural'
Category 3: Quantifiers	-lom	'approximately'
	-lək	'multiplicative'
	-mək	'each'

7.2.1.1 Category 1: Gender

Nouns are not marked for grammatical gender. Semantic gender may be indicated for animate beings where -pi indicates female gender and -pa indicates male gender. Thus in (140, 141) the stem nu 'human' is suffixed by -pi to indicate a female human and -pá to indicate a male human. (143-145) are further examples.

(140)	nupi	'female human'	(141)	nupá	'male human'
(142)	hənubi	'old woman'	(143)	hənubá	'old women'
(144)	phîsabi	'female weaver'	(145)	phîsabá	'male weaver'

These markers are borrowed from Hindi where -i

indicates a feminine ending and -a indicates a masculine
ending. (146, 147) illustrate this where the adjective
chota 'small' agrees with the head noun in gender.

(146) choti lərkii 'small girl'
(147) chota lərkaa 'small boy

The markers -pi 'feminine' and -pá 'masculine' appear
in proper names which are traditionally based on adjectives
which are used in naming a child. Thus the eldest male
child is named Tomba and the eldest female child is named
Tombi from ton 'top' and one of the gender suffixes.

As noted in BN (1986:15), there are a number of
occupational titles that appear with a -pá suffix that can
have either male or female referents:

(148) čəphusabá 'potter'
(149) usubá 'carpenter'
(150) sənsabá 'goldsmith'
(151) wárilibá 'story teller' BN1.15.10-13,16

This -pá suffix is derived from the Proto-Tibeto-Burman,
agentive suffix -pá as seen in Tibetan rta-pa 'horseman';
c'u-pa 'water carrier' (Matisoff, 1991b:19).

7.2.1.2 Category 2: Number

Although nouns are not obligatorily marked for number
they may occur with such specification. Singular nouns can
be indicated by the numeral əmə 'one' and plural nouns are
indicated with the numerals higher than one.

(152) ŋəraŋ   mí əmə   laʔí

      ŋəraŋ   mí ə -mə lak -í

      yesterday man att-one come-nhyp

      yesterday a man   came

      Yesterday a man came.   Pt9.4

A singular noun may also be indicated by one of the determiners ədu 'that' and əsi 'this' as in midu 'that man' or misi 'this man'.[16]

Plural nouns can be indicated by a numeral with a value higher than one or by the suffixation of a plural marker. There are two plural markers: -khoy and -siŋ. The marker -siŋ indicates plural inanimate or animate noun: thus the plural of láyrik 'book' is láyriksiŋ 'books' and the plural of əɲáŋ 'child' is əɲáŋsiŋ 'children'. The use of the suffix -khoy was described in Chapter 3, where it was used to indicate 1st, 2nd and 3rd person plural pronouns. The suffix may also be used with animate nouns where it signifies an inclusion of those physically surrounding or closely associated to the suffixed noun.

(153) garisi   Tombəkhoygi

      gari -si Tombə-khoy-ki

      vehicle-pdet Tomba-hpl -gen

      this vehicle Tomba and his family's

      This car is for Tomba (and all his family).

                         (SN)HM25.32

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[16] See Chapter 6 for explanation of morphophonological rules in effect here.

(154) nə́ŋgi   wásidi   ipákhoy   bhap tabə
       nə́ŋ-ki wá -si -ti   i -pá   -khoy   bhap ta -pə
       you-gen word-pdet-DLMT   1P-father-hpl   idea fall-nom
       your   this idea   elders   idea to fall
       On hearing your idea your elders (are unable to
       understand your idea).   əMUK29

The suffix -khoy cannot be used with nonhuman nouns.
A possible variant of -khoy is -khəy:[17]

(155) əŋáŋkhəygi
       ə -ŋáŋ -khoy-ki
       att-child-hpl -gen
       the children's   HM14.56.9

The reduction of the vowel in -khoy to ə is a common
alternation seen in stems that have been lexicalized to
serve as suffixes. This is explained in detail in Chapter
10.

7.2.1.3 Category 3: Quantifiers

There are three quantifiers which can be suffixed to
adjectives or adverbs to derive nouns or directly to nouns.
These are -lom 'approximately' -lək 'multiple of' and -mək
'each'. These are described below.

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[17] In JB's (JB25.178.9) dialect it is also possible
to suffix this marker to verbs: cə́tkhəy 'more than one
person going somewhere' from the suffixation of the plural
marker to cə́t 'go'. However, I haven't seen examples of
this in the standard Imphal dialect.

7.2.1.3.1 -lom 'approximately'

The marker -lom may be suffixed to numerals to indicate that the numeral is an approximate number (the speaker is indicating that the actual number cannot be over the specified number but may be under it). Thus məŋa 'five' can be suffixed by -lom to result in məŋarom 'about five' ((SN)HM22.10d). -lom may also be suffixed to proper nouns or pronouns. Thus in (156), the proper noun Tomba is suffixed by -khoy to indicate 'Tomba and his family'; the additional suffixation of -lom gives the meaning of 'Tomba, his family and friends'.

(156)
```
Tombəkhoyromgi          phâwdi          kəmdəwre
Tombə-khoy-lom -ki       phâw -ti        kəmdəw-lə    -e
Tomba-hpl  -apx-gen      uptil-DLMT      how    -perf-asrt
Tomba, family and friends including that how are
How is Tomba (and his family and friends) now?
```
HM25.76.5

However, -lom cannot be used with nonhuman nouns: thus (157a) where phî is 'cloth' and (157b) where huy is 'dog'(HM25.76.6) are ungrammatical.

(157a) *phîrom   (157b) *huyrom

7.2.1.3.2 -lək 'multiplicatives'

The marker -lək can be suffixed to numerals to the indicate the number of times that some action is performed. The resulting form is a noun since a numeral suffixed by -

<u>lәk</u> may be further suffixed by case markers.

(158) nәhak   bәzardә   mәrirәktәgi
      nә-hak   bәzar -tә   mәri-lәk -tәgi
      2P-here   buzzar-loc   4   -mult-abl
      you   at the market   from four times

      hénnә   čátpә   ŋәmgәdra
      hén -nә   čát-pә   ŋәm   -kә -tә -lә
      more-adv   go -nom possible -pot-nes-INT
      more   to go   is it possible
      Can you go to the market more than four times?
                                           HM25.59.2
(159) әhumlәkki   mәnúŋdә
      ә   -hum -lәk -ki mә-núŋ-tә
      att-three-mult-gen nm-in   -loc
      of three times   inside
      within three tries   HM25.57

        7.2.1.3.3 <u>-mәk</u> 'each'

     The marker <u>-mәk</u> serves to single out all (and only)
the possible members of a set as participants in some V.
It can be translated as 'each'.

(160) mәkhoy   tәrukmәktә   prizdu   phéŋlәmmí
      mә-khoy   tәruk-mәk -tә   priz -tu   phéŋ-lәm-í
      3P-hpl   six   -each-loc   prize-ddet   get-evd-nhyp
      they   to each six   a prize   got
      Each of those six got a prize.   HM25.58.9

<u>-mәk</u> may also appear with the adverbs such as <u>púmnә</u>

'completely' or <u>lóynə</u> 'all' to provide an emphasis of the
quantity referred to. Thus compare (161) and (162).

(161)

láyriksiŋsi   məkhun   lóynə   segayre
láyrik-siŋ-si   mə-khun   lóy-nə   se -khay   -lə   -e
book   -gpl-pdet nm-cover all-adv tear -up   -perf-asrt
these books   covers   all   are torn up
Every book has a torn cover.   HM24.208.1b

(162)

láyrik lóynəmək   Tombədə   píkhirəmmí
láyrik lóy-nə -mək Tombə-tə   pí -khi -ləm-í
book   all-adv-EACH Tomba-loc give-still-evd-nhyp
book   all   to Tomba   given
(He) gave every single book to Tomba.   HM24.207.4

7.2.1.4 Noun marker

Not mentioned in Table 11 is a sporadic noun marker
which in the past may have been a derivational suffix used
to derive nouns from verbs. This is the prefix <u>mə-</u> which
has the function to signal that the category of the
prefixed item is a noun. When the prefix occurs with an
adjective or stative verb the meaning derived is 'the V
one: thus <u>məča</u> 'small one' can be derived from the stem <u>ča</u>
'small'. When <u>mə-</u> occurs on an active verb the meaning
'method of Ving' is obtained: thus <u>məčát</u> 'method of
walking' (literally 'its walking'), is derived from <u>čát</u>

'walk'.[18]

7.2.2 Inflectional morphology

Nouns may be suffixed by one of the following case markers: agentive -nə, patient -pu, locative -tə, ablative -təgi and genitive -ki, associative -kə and instrumental -nə. The distribution of these markers is discussed in detail in Chapter 4. Pettigrew also lists a vocative case, -sa. It is true that -sa functions as a vocative in constructions such as (163a,b). In these constructions the marker -sa additionally acts to pluralize the noun it is suffixed to.

(163a) əŋáŋsá
       ə -ŋáŋ-sá
       att-child-body
       Children!

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[18] Recall that the third person possessive prefix is also mə-. This homophony between the pronominal prefix and the derivational prefix is also attested in Tibetan where the prefix ə- has a pronominal use, (indicating the third person pronoun) and a homophonous prefix has a nonpronominal use, since it is used to derive nominals from verbs. These are seen as derived from a PTB third person pronoun (Wolfenden (1929), Benedict (1972)).

(163b) nupi   məčasá   nəkhoy laklo
        nu   -pi   mə-ča   -sá   nə-khoy lak -lə -o
        person-fem nm-small-body 2P-hpl come-INT-SOLCT
        female   small ones   you all come, won't you
        You girls, why don't you come here.

<div align="right">(SN)HM22.10.21</div>

The marker cannot be suffixed on inanimate nouns:
*láyriksa; nouns which cannot substitute for proper names
*huysa and *misa or proper nouns *Tombasa. There are no
nonelicited examples of this marker in my data and it is
thought to be an archaic form (HM22.10).

7.3 Enclitics

Enclitics are distinguished from other affixes
following standard criteria established in the literature.
First, whereas affixes sub-categorize for lexical
categories, clitics subcategorize for phrasal or lexical
categories (Klavans, 1983, 1985 and Borjars, 1992).
Clitics show a low degree of selectivity in that the
category of the host may be a N, V, NP, or a sentence
(Zwicky and Pullum, 1983 and Sadock, 1991). Furthermore,
as described in Chapter 10, clitics undergo more general
phonological rules than other affixes (Zwicky and Pullum,
1983 and Sadock, 1991). In M non-clitic affixes do not
carry lexical tone but clitics are phonologically special
since they may be lexical marked for tone.[19] Finally, in

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[19] However, I adopt the view put forward in Sadock
(1990) and Woodbury (in press), that the morphological
status of a clitic might differ from its phonological

the linear order of affixes, enclitics always occur at the right edge of the word, they cannot be suffixed before IM or DM (Klavans, 1979, 1983, 1985; Zwicky and Pullum, 1983, Zwicky, 1985 and Sadock, 1991).

Enclitics in M fall into four categories: mode markers, inclusive/exclusive markers, attitude markers and quantifiers. The intermorphemic patterns exhibited by the markers in each category are summarized in Table 12. The left to right order in which the categories are presented is the order in which the categories occur.

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status. For example, the nonhypothetical inflectional affix -i has high tone and therefore, according to the phonological critiera I have stated, it must treated as a clitic. However, in the morphology, this marker is clearly an inflectional suffix since it can only be suffixed to a verb. Thus the phonology offers a probable but not necessarily defining characteristic of affixes and enclitics.

Table 12: Distributional chart of Enclitics

Category	Mode	Inclusive and Exclusive	Attitude	Quantifiers
Distri- bution	can co-occur	do not co-occur	can co-occur	can co-occur
Markers	-no; -ni; -lə; -o	-su; -ti	-ne; -tə; -ye; -he; -ko	-tə̂; -kum -mək; -khək -ləp; -ŋak

As indicated in Table 12, there are certain co-occurrence restrictions within categories. Co-occurrence in the mode marker category is restricted to combinations of the -lə interrogative' and -o 'solicitive' enclitics.[20] The enclitics in the exclusive/inclusive categories may not co-occur. Some co-occurrence is possible in the attitude marker category. -ne which indicates shared information (and so implying accepted or expected information), combines with all attitude markers which are semantically compatible with it: thus while -ne never co-occurs with the contrary to expectation marker -tə, the combinations -nehe, -neye and -neko (see examples (181c), (180b) and (182) respectively), are possible. In the linear order,

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[20] This is well motivated: since the inquisitive -no contains the solicitive (see footnote (22), the question of whether they combine is irrelevant. Furthermore, since -ni indicates a statement, it would be semantically anomalous for either the interrogative or solicitive to be affixed to -ni.

-ne always occurs before other attitude markers. The
contrary to expectation marker -tə may combine with -ko
'invariant tag' as in (183). The remaining attitude
markers, -ye 'confirmative', -he 'exasperative' and -ko
'invariant tag', do not combine with each other. Thus the
maximum number of attitude markers attested on a
constituent is two.

The occurrence of an attitude marker or a combination
of attitude markers precludes the use of enclitic
quantifiers. The attested combination of quantifiers is
restricted to -tə́ 'exclusive' combining with -mək 'only',
-khək 'to the extent'and -ŋak 'just' as in -də́mək (see
(194a)), -khəktə́ (see (196)) and -ŋaktə́ (see (197)),
respectively.

In sections 7.3.1 to 7.3.3, I will discuss the
enclitics presented in Table 12 in greater detail.

7.3.1   Mode markers

The function of the interrogative mode marker -lə
'interrogative', 'solicitive' -o and -no 'inquisitive' is
discussed in detail in Chapter 5 and 11, in this section I
argue for their status as enclitics. All three markers
have phrasal scope and they attach to the right edge of a
phrase regardless of the particular constituent that occurs
at that edge. This is illustrated in example (14a) in
Chapter 5, repeated here in part (refer to Chapter 5 for
the glosses). In (a), -no attaches to the final noun
'chicken' although the NP being questioned is expressed by
the QW kənaqi 'whose'. Again in (b) -no attaches to the

final constituent which in this case is the NP being questioned, i.e. the QW. Even though -no attaches to different NP's, it is the same NP that is being questioned in both sentences.

(14) (a) kənagi yénawno 'Whose is this chicken?'
      (b) yénaw kənagino 'Whose chicken is it?'

The copula -ni which indicates a declarative sentence has a special status. First, note that the copula derives verbs from nouns. (20) is an example of the category changing function of the copula: here the inflected verb čawkhətkədəwri 'will be developing' is nominalised with the suffixation of the nominalizer -pə, and then further suffixed by the copula, resulting in čawkhətkədəwribəni 'It will be developed.' The copula may also be suffixed to a noun as in ənanni 'it is a child' where ənan is 'child'.[21] The fact that the copula serves to change category identifies it as a derivational marker. However, note that the copula behaves like an enclitic in that it may not be followed by either nominal or verbal DM or IM but only by enclitics. Also, the copula has phrasal scope so that it attaches phonologically to the rightmost constituent in a sentence regardless of which constituent is at the right edge. Consider for instance (8) from Chapter 6:

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[21] The copula may also suffix to verbs in the future tense which, as discussed in section 6.1, are nominal forms. Further discussion of the functions of the copula can be found in Chapter 6.

(8)

(a) phurittu əŋawbəni   'That shirt is the white one.'

(b) əŋawbə phurittuni   'That shirt is white.'

This quirky behavior can be attributed to the etymology of the marker -ni which can be seen as composed of a root nə 'be' and the nonhypothetical marker -i.[22] Thus the suffixation of -ni actually results in a type of compound where nə is the second stem and i is an inflectional marker. The presence of one inflectional marker preempts the suffixation of another. Thus -ni, although derivational in function, behaves like an enclitic with regard to its linear order in the word. A similar special status can be attributed to the inquisitive marker -no which suffixes to nouns to derive verbs but, as explained in section 7.3.1, behaves like an enclitic in its distribution.

7.3.2   Inclusive/exclusive markers

This category consists of two markers: the delimitative marker -ti and -su 'also'.   -ti is used to

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[22] The etymology of -ni 'copula'; -ne 'shared information'; -no 'inquisitive' and nətte 'no' can be established along similar lines as sketched below:

ni   = nə + i   'nonhypothetical'   'it is'
no   = nə + o   'solicitative   'is it?'
ne   = nə + e   'assertive'   'is it not so?'
nətte = nə + tə 'negative' + e 'assertive'

                                       'it is not so'

indicate that the suffixed constituent, either a N, NP or nominalized verb or V, is chosen out of a group of possibilities.

(164)   phísidi   ŋaɲɲí
         phí -si -ti   ŋaŋ -í
         cloth-pdet-DLMT   red -nhyp
         this cloth   is red
         This cloth (and not the others) is red.   MD10.21a

-su 'also'[23] may be suffixed to a noun phrase or nominalized verb to signal the inclusion of that constituent in the action or state expressed by the verb. (see also section 6.3.5.2).

(165) lupa lisiŋ   məri   əməsu   píkhí
      lupa lisiŋ   mə-li   ə -mə -su   pí -khi -í
      four thousand nm-four att-one-ALSO give-still-nhyp
      four thousand four   also one   gave
      (He) also paid Rs. 4000.   əMUK105

7.3.3   Attitude markers

Attitude markers indicate the attitude of a speaker towards a proposition, signalling: a desire for agreement,

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[23] -su is a lexicalized shortening of -suŋ 'also' which occurs in the frozen form əməsuŋ 'and' (composed of -ə 'attributive' mə 'one' and -suŋ 'also' YS258.6). The deletion of the final ŋ in lexicalization is seen again in the development of the exclusive marker tə́ from the stem təŋ 'rare, exclusive'.

an expression of doubt about the truth of the proposition, surprise, etc. These are: -ne 'shared information', -ye 'confirmative', and -hé 'exasperative', -tə 'contrary to expectation' and -ko 'invariant tag'

With the use of the shared information marker -ne, the speaker brings to the foreground the idea that a proposition contains shared information, known to be true by both the speaker and hearer. The marker can be translated as 'As you know...' The use of -ne is illustrated in (166) which is an answer to the question 'Where are you going?'

(166)   Kaksiŋdənine
        Kaksiŋ-də -ni -ne
        Kaksiŋ-loc-COP-SI
        (As I'm sure you know), I'm going to Kaksing.

This can be compared to (167) which is also a possible answer to the same question.

(167) Kaksiŋdəni
        Kaksiŋ-loc-COP
        It is to Kaksiŋ (that I'm going).

Whereas, (167) simply asserts that the speaker is going to Kaksing, (166) implies that the question is a pointless since the hearer is already privy to the information. (168) provides an additional example of the use of -ne.

(168) ədudi   pripəresən kə́nnə
       ə -tu -ti   pripəresən kə́n -nə
       att-ddet-DLMT   preparation hard-adv
       that   preparation hard

       təwdə́   yapontene
       təw-tə́   ya -pot -nə-tə -e   -ne
       do -EX   agree-thing-be-neg-asrt-SI
       to do   a thing to participate in
       '...in that case (you know that) we should prepare
       very well.   RFC25

Due to the meaning signified by the shared information
marker, it can also be used by the speaker to prompt the
addressee to agree with the content of a proposition.

(169) Susil   adu   noy   ojasiŋdunə
       Susil   ə -tu   nə-khoy oja   -ciŋ-tu -nə
       Sushil   att-ddet   2P-gpl   teacher-gpl -ddet-CNTR
       Sushila that   you all teachers

       impression yám phə́ttene
       impression yám phə́ -tə -e   -ne
       impression lot good-neg-asrt-SI
       impression lot it is not good, right
       Your teacher's impression of Sushila is not good, is
       it?   RSS69

```
(170) bajinə        ibə        héyte
      baji  -nə  i   -pə  héy       -tə -e
      father-CNTR write-nom proficient-neg-asrt
      father        to write  not able


      háyribədudi            Iŋraji-ne
      háy-li  -pədu -ti       Iŋraji-ne
      say-prog-dcomp-DLMT     English-SI
      that you are saying     it is English, isn't it
      Father, what you said about their not being able to
      write applications, that refers to English, right?
```
<div align="right">əMUK54</div>

When a speaker must provide information to someone who should be aware of the information already but is not, -ne can be used to soften the force of the sentence; since -ne implies a shared knowledge, its use obscures the ignorance of the hearer.

The function of -ne as a tag marker allows a question interpretation of (166) as given in (171). In this case, there is nothing in the discourse which forces a declarative interpretation of the sentence: that is, when a sentence like (166) is not a reply to a question, it is itself interpreted as a question.

(171) nə́ŋnə   čə́tlisi   Kaksiŋdənine
      nə́ŋ-nə čə́t-li -si   Kaksiŋ-tə -ni -ne
      you-CNTR go -prog-pdet   Kaksiŋ-loc-COP-SI
      you   that are going it is to Kakshing, right
      You are going to Kaksiŋ, right?

If -ne occurs with QW question, the sentence translates much like an echo question in English, where the speaker asks for repetition of information just provided.

(172)
nə́ŋnə   kərino   puthorəkí   háybədəyne
nə́ŋ-nə   kəri-no   pu   -thok-lək   -í   háy-pə -təgi-ne
you-CNTR what-INQ   carry-out -dist-nhyp   say-nom-abl -SI
you   what   brought   said
You said you brought what?   HM25.47.5c

The sentence might also indicate that the speaker has a hard time believing that the information just heard is true.

(173) kərəmbə láyrik phə́gdəgene
      kərəmbə láyrik phə́ŋ-tə -ke -ne
      which   book   find-neg-opt-SI
      which   book   did not find that (you) wanted to
      Which of the books could you not (surprizingly) get
      at the library.   HM6.205.1

The question may also be interpreted as a rhetorical question where the speaker thinks (and expects that the hearer concurs) that no appropriate answer exists for the question.

(174) kənano   hunjinlunigene
      kəna-no   hun   -cin-lu -ni háy-ke -ne
      who -INQ   slander-in -adir-COP say-opt-SI
      who is it that wants to slander him
      Who will slander (him, there is none).   HM11.136c

When used with yes-no questions -ne expresses disbelief.

(175) sibu   nóŋnərəne
      si -pu   nóŋ-nə -lə -ne
      this-PAT   rain-adv-INT-SI
      this here   because of the rain
      'Really, was it because of the rain?' (I don't
      think so.)

(176) nəŋ phíron   séttribrəne
      nəŋ phí -lon   sét -tə -li -pə -lə -ne
      you   cloth-weave wear-neg-prog-nom-INT-SI
      you   dress   are not wearing, are you
      How come you aren't dressed yet?

Thus, the same marker has a different communicative
force (all revolving around the idea of shared knowledge)
depending on if it is used with a declarative or an
interrogative sentence.

With the use of the contrary to expectation marker
-tə, the speaker tags a proposition as being true even in
the face of overwhelming evidence or all expectations that
it is not true/should not be true.

(177) adə   úribəsi   yúmnidə
       a   -tə ú   -li   -pəsi   yúm -ni -tə
       there-loc see-prog-dcomp   house-COP-CTE
       over there that seeing   it is a house
       From what I can see that thing a way over there is a
       house (not a temple or anything).

(178)
həyeŋdi   əykhoy čák soydə́nə   čánidə
həyeŋ -ti   əy-khoy čák soy   -tə́nə čá -ni -tə
tomorrow-DLMT I -hpl rice certain-by   eat-COP-CTE
tomorrow   we   rice certain   will eat
Tomorrow we will surely eat with you (although you
have invited us many times and we have put it off
for so long).'

In interrogative constructions, with the CTE marker
the speaker questions the truth of a proposition and finds
that it isn't true even though there is overwhelming
evidence to show that it should be.

(179) həwjikpu   kədaydəgi   čáknodə
      həwjik-pu   kəday-təgi   čák -no -tə
      now   -ADVR where-abl   rice-INQ-CTE
      From where are we going to get anything to eat
      right now? (We came to this wedding feast with the
      intention to eat but it looks like all the food is
      gone.)

A sentence can be suffixed by the confirmative marker
-ye to indicate that the proposition in the sentence has
been stated before. A speaker might use the marker to ask

confirmation about something that he/she believes was said to the hearer. The speaker might also use the marker to repeat what he/she has already said. Both these uses of the marker are illustrated in the following conversational exchange where Speaker 1 asks for a repetition of what Speaker 2 has just said. Speaker 2 then responds by repeating the relevant part of his statement (indicating that it is a repetition with the suffixation of -ye.)

(180a)

Speaker 1:
thóklakkaniye
thók-lak -ka -ni -ye
out -dist-fut-COP-CONFM
returning, you say?
So, she's returning?

Speaker 2:

aw	Niŋol	čákkawba	yawniye	
aw	Niŋ -kol	čák -kaw -pa	yaw	-ni -ye
yes	want-place	food-call-nom	participate-COP-CONFM	
yes	Festival	call for a meal	as I say, to participate	

Yes, as I said, she will participate in the festival of Ningol Cakkawba. RSS42-43

The confirmative marker may be used in conjunction with the shared information marker.

(180b) sitkənneye
        sit -kən -ne -ye
        sell-force-SI-CONFM
        You see, I was told it would sell well. HM6.151.8

The exasperative marker -he is used to respond to repeated questioning or repeated requests to perform some action. It indicates that the speaker has already responded at least once to the hearer and is irritated in having to respond again. It can be translated as, 'I already told you..' Because of its strong communicative force, it is impolite to use this marker with elders or strangers.

(181a)   (181b)
təwdehé   əydi   údehé
təw-tə-e   -hé   əy-ti ú -tə -e   -hé
do-neg-asrt-EXASP   I -DLMT see-neg-asrt-EXASP
I didn't do it, o.k.!   I   didn't see it, o.k.!
HM11.145a   No, I didn't see!   HM11.145c

(181c) yadenehé
        ya   -tə -e   -ne-hé
        agree-neg-asrt-SI-EXASP
        You know I don't agree to that!   HM14.27

As described in Chapter 5, the invariant tag marker can be used to form a tag question which elicits agreement from the hearer. This is illustrated in (182, 183).

(182) paysinminnəbirukhinuneko

　　　　pay-sin-minnə -pi -lu -khi -nu 　-ne-ko

　　　　fly-in-together-rec-adir-still-probh-SI-TAG

　　　　Don't fly with him into that spot even if you want

　　　　to, O.K.?　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(PCT)HM16.7

(183) puminnəhənjərəmgədəbənidəko

　　　　pu 　-minnə 　-hən -čə -ləm-kə -tə -pə-ni -tə -ko

　　　　carry-together-caus-self-evd-pot-nes-nom-COP-CTE-TAG

　　　　I should just have caused it to be carried with

　　　　someone else, right?　　　　　　　　　　HM25.158.6

7.3.4　Quantifiers

There are 7 markers which may be suffixed to a V, N or
NP. These are:

-tə　　　　'exclusive'
-kum　　　'like'
-mək　　　'only'
-khək　　　'up to, to the extent'
-ləp　　　'augment'
-ŋak　　　'just'

The exclusive enclitic -tən can be suffixed to nouns
or verbs. It serves to single out an N or V out of a set
of eligible participants as being the most representative
or foremost in the set.

(184) əmətəŋ
　　　 ə　-mə -təŋ
　　　 att-one-EX
　　　 exactly one　　　　　　　　　　　　　　HM25.145.3a

(185) láyriksi　　nəhaktəŋ　 píyu　　háy
　　　 láyrik-si　nə-hak-təŋ pí　-u　 hay-í
　　　 book　-pdet 2P-here-EX　give-imp say-nhyp
　　　 this book　　to you　　 give　　 say
　　　 Someone gave me a book for giving to you (and only
　　　 you).　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　HM25.155.2

The final consonant of the enclitic may be omitted so that
-təŋ alternates with -tə́:

(186) əmətə́
　　　 ə　-mə -tə́
　　　 att-cne-EX
　　　 exactly one　　　　　　　　　　　　　　HM25.145.3b

(187) məsigi　　　　ŋá　məkhəl
　　　 mə-si -ki　　 ŋá　mə-khəl
　　　 3P-pdet-gen　 fish nm-shape
　　　 of this　　　 fish type

　　　 əsi　　　Moirəŋdədə́　　phə́ŋŋí
　　　 ə　-si　 Moirəŋ-tə-tə́　phə́ŋ-í
　　　 att-pdet Moirəŋ-loc-EX　find-nhyp
　　　 this　　　only in Moirang is found
　　　 This type of fish is found only in Moirang.
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　HM25.35.1

(188)

mádi	Tombəgə	čə́tminədə́nədə				lə́y	
má-ti	Tombə-kə	čə́t-min	-nə	-tə́nə-tə́	lə́y	-í
he-DLMT	Tomba-ass	go -together-recip-by		-EX	be	-nhyp
he	with Tomba	going together with	only		is	
He only roams around with Tomba.					HM11.116	

The exclusive enclitic is derived from the stem tə́ŋ 'rare'. The development of this enclitic from a related stem provides an illustration of a common pattern of lexicalization in M. First, tə́ŋ 'rare' may be used as a stem; tə́ŋ may also be used as a verbal suffix where its original meaning is modified. In (189) for example, it is used to mean 'distinct, exclusive'.

(189)   tə́ŋdaŋbə
         tə́ŋ-taŋ   -pə
         rare-exclusive-nom
         explicit, obvious   Khel113

Also, the vowel of the suffix -taŋ may appear as ə. The suffix tə́ŋ (or its variant təŋ) attaches only to verbs whereas the enclitic -təŋ (or its variant -tə) may attach to either nouns or verbs.

The marker -kum 'similar to' may be suffixed to a noun or a verb to derive an adjective.

(190)   əŋáŋgum   (191) láybakgum
        ə -ŋáŋ -kum   láy-pak-kum
        att-child-like   god-get-like
        like a child   like fate   SN10.15,16

See also Chapter 9 for a discussion of the suffixation of
-kum to verb roots.

The enclitic -mək 'only' is etymologically related to
the derivational marker -mək 'each'. The enclitic -mək
singles out (in such a way as to restrict the possibility
of other eligible participants), an N or V where speaker
did not expect this restriction. The enclitic -mək and the
derivational marker -mək can be distinguished since the
enclitic occurs after case markers (as in (192)), whereas
the derivational marker occurs before case markers (see
(160)).

(192) láyriksi   Tombəgimək   óyrəmbə
      láyrik-si   Tombə-ki -mək óy-ləm-pə
      book   -pdet Tomba-gen-ONLY be-evd-nom
      this book   only for Tomba being

      tarəbədi   əynə   ségayrəmloy
      ta -lə -pə -ti   əy-nə sé -khay-ləm-loy
      fall-pro-nom-DLMT I -CNTR tear-up   -evd-npot
      if it falls   I   will not tear
      If it falls out that this book is just for Tomba, I
      will not tear it.   HM26.35.2

-mək may be suffixed to an animate noun to signal
emphasis:

(193)

thəbəktu	Tombəməknə	təwrəmbə	óyrəbədi
thəbək-tu	Tombə-mək -nə	təw-ləm-pə	óy-lə -pə-ti
work -ddet	Tomba-ONLY-adv	do -evd-nom	be-pro-nom-DLMT
the work	by only Tomba	to work	if

If Tombə himself (with no other help) does the work...

<div align="right">HM25.35.6</div>

-mək also be combined with the exclusive marker -tə for emphasis.

(194a)

parikyadu	Rajudəmək	pas	təwre
parikya-tu	Raju-tə-mək	pas	təw-lə -e
test -ddet	Raju-EX-ONLY	pass	do -perf-asrt
the exam	just Raju	pass	did

Raju (and no one else) passed the exam.

(194b)

əynə	mábu	phúdəmək	phúy
əy-nə	má-pu	phú -tə-mək	phu -í
I -CNTR	he-def	beat-EX-ONLY	beat-nhyp
I	him	only beat	beat

I hit him (I didn't kill him).　　　　　HM25.153.4

The suffix -khək 'up to, to this extent of' is derived from khək 'stop, halt'.

(195) əhum　　　mərikhək

ə -hum	mə-ri -khək
att-three	nm-four-UPTO
upto three or four	

<div align="right">əMUK79</div>

-khək most often occurs with the enclitic -tə

'exclusive' to provide emphasis to the limited quantity indicated by the marker.

(196)
```
əynə      láyrikkhəktə   nə́ŋoŋdə      pírəmmí
əy-nə     láyrik-khək-tə́ nə́ŋ-ŋoŋ-tə  pí  -ləm-í
I-CNTR    book  -UPTO-EX  you-to -loc  give-evd-nhyp
I         a book          to you       gave
```
I gave a book (and nothing else) to you.   HM25.154.7b

The suffix -ŋak (alternates with -ŋək) 'just' singles out an N to restrict the possibility of other participants in an unexpected way.

(197)
```
məhaknə          Tombədə       láyrikŋəktə́      pírəmmí
mə-hak -nə       Tomba-tə      láyrik-ŋək -tə́   pí  -ləm  -í
3P-here-CNTR     Tomba-loc     book   -JUST-EX  give-evd  -nhyp
he               to Tomba      just a book       gave
```
He gave Tomba just the books.   BM24.208.2

The suffix -ləp 'augmentative' derived from lep 'decidedly' is used with adverbs to indicate that the meaning signalled by the adverb is present to an abundant degree.

(198)
```
u       ədu        puləpnə        lə́y
u       ə  -tu     pun  -ləp-nə   ləy-í
tree    att-ddet   dense-aug-adv  be -nhyp
tree    that       very densly    be
```
The trees are dense in growth.   Pt47.13

(199) təlləpnə   purəku
       təl -ləp-nə   pu   -lək -u
       short-aug-adv   carry-dist-imp
       being very short bring
       Bring a very short one.   Pt47.12

8 Compounding

In this chapter I will provide a semantic and formal classification of compounds in M. Compounds can be derived through the word structure rules given in (1). The number following each rule indicates an example of that rule.

(1a)	N	--->	[N+V]	(3a-c)
(1b)	N	--->	[V+N]	(2d)
(1c)	N	--->	[N+N]	(2a-c)
(1d)	N	--->	$[N+V]_n + N]$	(2e-g)
(1f)	V	--->	[V+V]	(5)

The following subsections are organized on semantic[1] and formal grounds. In regards to semantic productivity: the meaning of a compound may be the sum of its parts or a meaning may be associated to the compound through convention. In the second case, the meaning of the compound might only be derived through a figurative or metaphoric extension of the core meaning of the words involved. Finally, the compound might be an idiom: there is no clue in the individual meanings of the stems about what the meaning of the compound is. Second, compounds are organized on formal grounds. As will be shown in following section, nominal compounds can be categorized as

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[1] A useful semantic classification of compounds is given in BN (1986:2.9-31). Further examples of compounds may be found in NG (1987).

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either right headed, left headed or dvandva compounds (where head refers to that stem which determines the category of or is the main referent of the compound). On the other hand, the only verbal compounds found are dvandva compounds.

8.1 Productive combinations

In this section I will describe compounds where the semantic correlation between a compound and its members is transparent.

8.1.1 Nominal compounds

Nominal compounds such as the N+N and V+N compounds given in (2) are right headed. In these cases the first stem (S1) modifies the second stem (S2). Common semantic relationships between the head and the modifier are: a specific type of N (2a), what N is meant for (2b,c) and what is done at N (2d).

(2a)	(2b)	(2c)	(2d)
khóŋləm	phíruk	yéŋon	thə́kphəm
khóŋ-ləm	phî -luk	yén-kon	thə́k -phəm
leg -way	cloth-basket	hen-place	drink-place
footpath	clothes basket	chicken coop	drinking place

NG210,233

Right headed nominal compounds can be composed of more than one root where S2 is modified by a N+V compound. This is illustrated in (e-f).

(2e)	(2f)	(2g)
maykhumphí	phíyónphə́m	unbanthá
may -khum -phí	phí -yón -phə́m	un -pan -thá
face-cover-cloth	cloth-sell-place	ice -rule-month
veil	cloth shop	winter

Nominal compounds of the form N+V are left headed. Thus in (3) where the category of the compound is the category of the stem on the left (noun), S1 is being modified by the stative verb S2. Common semantic relationships between the head and the modifier are: where N is located (3a), a quality of N (3b), what N does (3c).

(3a)	(3b)	(3c)	
phígá	číŋjaw	yúmgom	
phí-khá	číŋ-čaw	yúm -khom	
cloth-under	hill-big	house-collect	
under garment	mountain	outhouse	NG207,233

There are also exocentric N+V compounds where neither S1 or S2 can be said to be the head of the compound but where S1 is the patient of S2 and the gender marker which occurs at the end or the compound has scope over the entire compound. These are sometimes called deverbal synthetic compounds (Hoeksema 1985:142). In M such compounds are most often occupational titles as shown in (4a,b) or a definition of who or what an actor or object is by some action performed or accomplished as in (4c,d). Note that in (a,b) where the resulting noun is an animate noun, although both stems of the compound can occur as free forms, the S1+S2 combination cannot occur without the gender affix. This is not true for inanimate nouns as in

(4c,d)

(4a) phísabi   (4b) čəphusábá
     phí -sa   -pi   čəphu-sá -pá
     cloth-weave-fem   pot -make-male
     female cloth weaver   male pot maker
     BN2.15   BN2.15

(4c) síŋjəŋ   (4d) phíjet
     síŋ -čəŋ   phí -čet
     wood-enter   dress-wear
     thing which enters   thing which is worn
     wood (axe) Pt48   (dress) NG140

There are also dvandva nominal compounds (where neither stem is the head as in English <u>deaf-mute</u>).

(4e) mitná   (4f) tukhoŋ   (4g) čákisiŋ
     mit -ná   tu   -khoŋ   čák -isiŋ
     eye -ear   stream-ditch   rice-water
     organs   marshy land   meal   NG144

8.1.2 Verbal compounds

Verbal compounds are not common in M. Verbal dvandva compounds as in (5) can be found:

(5) čáthəkle
    čá -thək -lə -e
    eat -drink-perf-asrt
    have dined

There are no left headed verbal compounds in the synchronic grammar of M. The existence of V+V compounds at some earlier stage of the language is attested by the derivational verb morphology described in Chapter 7 where the modifying second stem is reinterpreted as a derivational morpheme. Arguments for why these V+V sequences are not considered compounds are given in that Chapter.

8.2 Nonproductive combinations

As mentioned above, in some instances the meaning of the compound can only be gleaned through a figurative interpretation of the relationship between the stems. Thus in (6a) the mother of the land is 'queen' and in (6b) a death on the road is an 'accidental death' and in (6c) the voice of noisy news is 'rumor'.

(6a) ləyma   (6b) ləmsi   (6c) páwninkhón
     ləy -ma   ləm -si   páw -nin -khón
     land-mother   path-die   news-noisy-voice
     queen, goddess   accidental death   rumour   BN3

Some compounds have been lexicalized so that (a) the compound has a taken on a specialized meaning and (b) speakers consider the compound to be a simple form. For example, the stative verb <u>lel</u> 'best' can be compounded to a noun to indicate that the suffixed noun is the best or most representative of its kind (6d-f).

(6d) phîrel   (6e) ləyrel   (6f) hîrel
      phî -lel   ləy -lel   hî -lel
      cloth-best   snake-best   boat-best
      tompost cloth   python   best boat
                                            (SN)HM25.129.1-3

However, note that ləyrel does not refer to any big snake but only to pythons. The same is true of phîrel which refers to the starter cloth in a weaving loom; hîrel refers to a specific type of boat. Although native speakers can identify the head in (6d-f), they cannot always identify lel as an independent word. Thus HM identifies turel 'river' as a monomorphemic form although a little research shows that it is composed of tu 'stream' and the superlativizing lel. (6g) and (6h) give similar examples where 'tree flower' does not refer to just any flower of a flowering tree but to orchids and 'cloth fold' does not refer to any folded cloth but to a garment used in a specific ritual.

(6g) uráy   (6h) phídúp
      u   -láy   phî -thúp
      tree-flower   cloth -fold
      orchid   cloth used in the Shrada ceremony

Examples in (7) illustrates idiomatic compounds where the meaning is not recoverable from the meaning of the stems.

(7a) khóŋgoynəre

khóŋ-khoy -nə -lə -e

leg -rough-inst-perf-asrt

insulted (Lit. by roughing up the leg)   əMUK109

(7b) gurumantra   (7c) niŋthəw

guru -məntra   niŋ-thəw

mentor-chant   wish-soul

absolutely correct əMUK62c   king   LAYBəK2

(7d) mətik   čábə   (7e) khudoŋ   čábə

mə-tik   čá -pə   khut-thoŋ čá -pə

nm-fit   eat-nom   hand-place eat-nom

to be fit   əMUK144   opportunity   LAYBəK29

8.3 Affixation within compounds

As shown in (7d) above it is also possible for derived forms (in this case a derived nominal) to be members of compounds. As seen in (8a-c) a noun stem is compounded to a derived adverb to form a noun.

(8a)	(8b)	(8c)
čə́tnərol	čaynərol	innəphí
čə́t-nə-lol	čay -nə-lol	in -nə -phí
walk-adv-language	beat-adv-language	wrap-adv-cloth
demeanor	rules for	wrapper,
while walking	fighting	shawl

Finally, a noun can be derived from an Adj+N sequence:

(8d) əthénpót   (8e) ətúmən

       ə -thén   -pót   ə -tú -mən

       att-display-thing   att-sew-price

       gift   sewing charge   NG137

Besides these 3 types of affixation, the <u>mə-</u> used to derive nouns from verbs, the <u>ə-</u> used to derive adjectives from verbs and <u>-nə</u> used to derive adverbs from verbs, it is not possible to find affixation in compounds.

Chapter 9

9 Lexical Collocations

This chapter provides a description of a phenomenon sometimes referred to as echo-word formation or reduplication (Abbi, 1992), which is common in Tibeto-Burman languages and across languages families in Southeast Asia.[1] This phenomenon can be defined as the creation of lexical collocations where a morphological constituent is partially or fully duplicated or paired with a rhyming word. In this chapter I will describe various types of such collocations in M. Much of the data for this description come from Chungtham Nandakumari Devi[2] (1985), Yashwanta Singh (1988), Thounaojam Harimohon Singh (1989) and Khelchandra (1964). This chapter is organized as follows: the introduction of each section presents a formal analysis of a class of duplication, each subsection primarily explains the function of that class of duplication.

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[1] See for example a description of similar phenomena in Tibetan (Uray, 1954), Lahu (Matisoff, 1973) and as an areal feature for the Indian subcontinent (Abbi, 1991; Masica, 1991).

[2] Examples from CND are referenced according to their appearance in the English translation of that thesis prepared by HM.

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9.1 Repetition

In Repetition two instances of the same morphological constituent occur contiguously. There are two types of repetition: stem repetition and word repetition.

9.1.1 Word Repetition

In word repetition a word (W) (a free standing form like a free root or a root with additional derivational or inflectional affixes) occurs twice. Each WW sequence is treated like a single constituent by the syntax. Thus I assume that such sequences are structurally like compounds (see Chapter 8 for a discussion of compounds). This is seen in (1).

(1)

$$X^0$$
$$X^0 \qquad\qquad X^0$$
$$| \qquad\qquad\qquad |$$
$$W \qquad\qquad\quad W$$
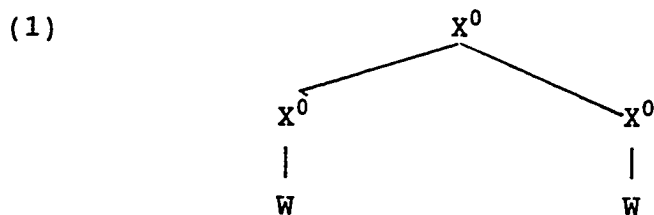
The resulting constituent X^0 can be combined in phrases in the same way that other lexical items of the same category are combined.

9.1.1.1 Nouns

The duplicated word may be a simple noun root as in (1a), or a derived noun as in (1b) or an inflected noun as in (1c).

(1a) yúm   yúm   čəŋdúnə   vot khommí
         yum   yum   čəŋ -túnə vot khom   -í
         house house enter-ing vote collect-nhyp
         house house entering   vote campaigned
         They canvassed house to house for votes.   CND4.1

(1b) məpəy   məpəy   phə́ŋbə
         mə-pəy   mə-pəy   phə́ŋ-pə
         nm-heap nm-heap find-nom
         heap   heap   to find
         to find several heaps (of something)   Pt52

(1c) əynə   əynə   ŋəmbə   təwnəsi
         əy-nə   əy-nə   ŋəm   -pə təw-nə   -si
         I -CNTR I -CNTR possible-nom do -recip-sup
         I   I   be possible   let us do together
         Let's each do whatever we can do.   CND12.4

If an inflected W is repeated, inflection shows up on both
constituents as in (1c). If an uninflected W undergoes
repetition, inflection will have scope over the duplicated
form. Thus the process of duplication is available before
and after inflectional morphology is concatenated to nouns.

(1d) məkhoy   yúm   yúmdə   čə́tkhre
         mə-khoy yúm   yúm -tə čə́t-khi -lə -e
         3P-pl   house house-loc go-still-perf-asrt
         they   house house to have gone
         They have gone to their respective houses.
                             YS(1988).231.1

    Question   words   can   be   duplicated   to   get   a
distributional reading (as in (1e) and (1f)) or a plural

reading (as in (1g)): the basic QW is first duplicated,
further modification of the QW form (for example, the
suffixation of a case marker) follows the duplicated form.

(1e) nə̂ŋ kəna kəna loynərə?i
      nə̂ŋ kəna kəna loy -nə   -lək -i
      you who who   with-recip-dist-nhyp
      you who who   are together with
      'Who all are you associated with?'   HM6.138.4

(1f) nə̂ŋ   məhakpu   kəday kədaydə   thi
      nə̂ŋ   mə-hak -pu kəday kəday -tə thi   -i
      you   3P-here-pat where where -loc search-nhyp
      you   him   where where   searched
      'Where all (in which places) do you seek for
      him?'   YS181.64a

(1g) nəkhoy kəri kəri ləypak   čə̂tle
      nə-khoy kəri kəri ləy -pak čə̂t-lə -e
      2P-hpl what what land-broad go-perf-asrt
      you all what what countries gone
      Which countries have you visited?   YS183.66b

9.1.1.2 Adverbs

Adverbs may also undergo word repetition to signal
that the manner in which some action is performed is more
intense or occurs more than once. As described in Chapter
3, adverbs can be derived from verbs with the affixation of
the adverbial marker -nə. Thus, when word duplication is
applied, the entire form, root + suffix is duplicated.

(2a) V how often

məhaknə	hánnə	hánnə	thəbəktu	təwwí
mə-hak -nə	hán -nə	hán -nə	thəbək-tu	təw-í
3P-here-CNTR	return-adv	return-adv	work -ddet	do -nhyp
he	again	again	that work	does

He does the work again and again.   YS(1988)236.20a

(2b) V in what manner

məhak	tə́pnə	tə́pnə	čə́tli
mə-hak	tə́p -nə	tə́p -nə	čə́t-li
he-here	slow-adv	slow-adv	go -prog
he	slowly	slowy	walks

He walks slowly.   YS(1988)236.20b

(2c) V in what quantity

məhak	yu	yámnə	yámnə	thə́ʔí
mə-hak	yu	yám-nə	yám-nə	thə́k -í
he-here	wine	lot-adv	lot-adv	drink-nhyp
he	liquor	a lot	a lot	drinks

He drinks liquor very heavily.   YS(1988)231.4

(2d) V while doing what

məhak	kwá	yónnə	yónnə	wá	ŋáŋrəmmi
mə-hak	kwá	yón -nə	yón -nə	wá	ŋáŋ -ləm-li
3P-here	betel nut	sell-adv	sell-adv	word	speak-evd-prog
he	betel nut	selling	selling	word	said

He spoke while selling betel nut.   AA.1

The same pattern of repetition is found with adverbs

derived from the compounding of tə 'abundantly V (in an agreeable sense)' with a verb root. tə is no longer productive in M and occurs only in such duplicated forms.

(2e) tənəw   tənəwbə
      tə   -nəw tə   -nəw -pə
      abundant-soft abundant-soft-nom
      very soft   (SN)HM22.7d

(2f) tənoy   tənoybə
      tə   -noy tə   -noy-pə
      abundant-fat abundant-fat-nom
      pleasingly plump   (SN)HM22.7e

(2g) təséŋ   təséŋ
      tə   -séŋ tə   -séŋ
      abundant-clear abundant-clear
      crystal clear, absolutely correct   (SN)HM22.7a

9.1.1.3 Verbs

Verbs can also undergo word repetition. Duplicated verbs are used as responses to questions or requests. When the response is affirmative, its force is strengthened or made more immediate.

(3a) khəŋŋe   khəŋŋe   čə́tlo
      khəŋ -e   khəŋ-e   čə́t-o
      know -asrt know-asrt   go -SOLCT
      I know   I know   you go
      I know that very well, just you go!   CND5.1

Permission to do some V is most appropriately granted in a duplicated form.

(3b) čə́tlo   čə́tlo
      čə́t-o   čə́t-o
      go -SOLCT   go -SOLCT
      why don't you go why don't you go
      Go!   YS(1988)233.8

When the speaker responds in the negative with a duplicated verb, impatience and anger are conveyed.

(3c) lə́yte   lə́yte
      lə́y-tə -e   lə́y-tə -e
      be -neg-asrt be -neg-asrt
      is not   is not
      There isn't any!   CND7.3

(3d) pámjəde   pámjəde
      pám -cə   -tə -e   pám -cə   -tə -e
      like-self-neg-asrt   like-self-neg-asrt
      don't like   don't like

      píbirəkkənu
      pí -pi -lək   -kə -nu
      give-rec-distal-pot-probh
      please don't give me
      Please don't give me any, I don't like it!   CND18.2

In lexicalized instances, the choice of inflection can be significant. Consider example (3e and 3f). In (3e), when the root phə́ 'good', is duplicated, a positive meaning

is signalled. However, in (3f) when the root is followed by the perfect aspect marker, the duplicated form is sarcastic.

```
(3e) phə́y        phə́y    (3f) phə́re               phə́re
     phə́ -ĩ      phə́ -ĩ       phə́ -lə  -e          phə́ -lə  -e
     good-nhyp   good-nhyp    good-perf-asrt       good-perf-asrt
     is good     is good      good                 good
     Excellent.  CND7.1       Oh, great!                   CND7.2
```

When a verb in the progressive is duplicated, it acts as an adverb indicating in what manner the action described is performed. Such constructions are used in conjunction with the verb <u>təw</u> 'do'. The implication is that the action described by the duplicated verb is being performed apathetically or partially (not to the extent intended or expected).

```
(3g) tumli       tumli       təwbə
     tum -li      tum -li     təw-pə
     sleep-prog   sleep-prog  do -nom
     sleeping     sleeping    to do
     not quite asleep                         HM25.139.2
```

```
(3h) čə́tli      čə́tli       təwbə
     čə́t-li      čə́t-li      təw-pə
     go -prog    go -prog    do -nom
     moving along very slowly, not quiet stopped' (used
     of inanimate objects)                    HM25.139.2
```

9.1.1.4 Compounds

Compounds which indicate a quantity or describe some quality (like some V+V compounds which are adjectives) may also undergo word duplication. This is illustrated in (4).

(4a)   piklək   piklək   sémmu

        pik -lək   pik -lək   sém -u

        small-type small-type make-imp

        small type   small type   make

        Make it of a smaller size.   CND19.3

(4b)   kárûm   kárûm   təwre

        ká -lûm   ká -lûm   təw-lə -e

        roast-heavy roast-heavy do -perf-asrt

        very roasted very roasted has been done

        It is somewhat overroasted.   CND19.12

(4c)   kháybok   kháybok   yéllu

        kháy -pok   kháy -pok   yél -u

        split-birth split-birth divide-imp

        half   half   divide

        Divide this into equal shares.   CND19.15

There is a special class of VV compounds which occur exclusively in duplicated form. In these compounds the second stem of the compound may be one of the stems: trik, drit, throk, šrok, rok or tru. These stems are not semantically productive in M and appear only in the type of lexical collocations described here. It is possible that they are borrowed forms (for example t'rik 'precise, sure'

is present in Tibetan (Jaeschke (1881)) or were productive at an earlier stage of the language. Also, I do not have enough data to tell what determines the distribution of these alternants. Such compounds are repeated to indicate that some quality or action exists or is performed to an excessive or unexpected amount. The actor refers to a number of distributed items.

(4d) ŋəwrok   ŋəwrok
      ŋəw -rok   ŋəw -rok
      white-rok   white-rok
      too white   too white
      for separate items to be too white   NG238.25

(4e) səŋtrik   səŋtrik
      səŋ -trik   səŋ -trik
      green-trik green-trik
      too green   too green
      for separate items to be too green   NG239.20

(4f) saŋdroŋ   saŋdroŋ
      saŋ -droŋ   saŋ -droŋ
      long-droŋ   long-droŋ
      too long   too long
      for separate items to be too long   NG239.23

9.1.2 Stem Repetition

Stem repetition, which refers to the repetition of a stem rather than the whole word, applies only on adjectives and compounds. In (5), the attributive-verb sequence of an adjective is repeated. Note that the initial part of the

collocation, the attributive-verb sequence, is not a
free form adjective.[3]

(5a) əhaw   əhawbə
      ə -haw   ə -haw -pə
      att-taste att-taste-nom
      very tasty   HM14.59.13a

(5b) əčá   əčábə   čə́tkhro
      ə -čá   ə -čá -pə   čə́t-khi -lə -o
      att-eat   att-eat-nom go-start-INT-SOLCT
      all the ones eaten   why don't you go
      All of those that have eaten, go!   CND4.3

(5c) ətúm   ətúmbə   uyuŋ
      ə -túm   ə -túm -pə u   -yuŋ
      att-point att-point-nom wood-erect
      the sharp ones   sticks
      the extremely pointed sticks   HM14.60.13

(5d) əkhəŋ   khəŋdə
      ə -khəŋ   khəŋ-tə
      att-know   know-neg
      known and unknown   CND21.9

For this pattern of duplication, the stem must
describe a quality. For example, tum 'sleep', cannot be
duplicated as in *ətum ətumbə to mean 'very sleepy'

---

[3] However, since both parts of such collocations are
pronounced as separate words, they are not written as a
single word.

(HM14.59.17).

In (5) the entire collocation functions like an adjective or relative clause. Thus, through the morphological process of stem duplication, adjectives may have the distinctive morphosyntactic structure given in (5e):

(5e)
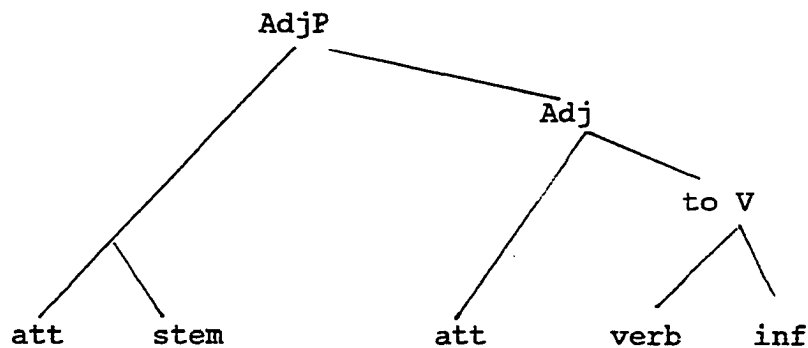
Note that the infinitive marker is indicated as being suffixed to the second occurrence of the stem before the affixation of the attributive marker. This order of affixation is motivated by the phonology which indicates that -pə is a Level 2 affix and ə- is a level 3 affix (see Chapter 10 for details).

Stem repetition is also possible with VV compounds. As discussed in Chapter 8, both right headed and left headed compounds are found exclusively in lexical collocations of the type discussed in this section.

In right-headed VV compounds, the first stem of the compound is repeated. In the resulting form the compound functions like an adjective to modify the repeated verb. Characteristically, the modifying (first) root in these compounds is a semantically bleached equivalent of the root that occurs in other environments and brings a predictable meaning to the duplicated form. Thus khən 'startle' is consistently used to mean 'suddenly' in these repeated forms:

(6a) khə̂ŋčət   čə́tniŋbə
      khə̂ŋ   -čət čə́t-niŋ -pə
      startle-go   go -wish-nom
      Suddenly, I'd like to go.   HM14.70.7

(6b) khə̂ŋniŋ   niŋsiŋləkí
      khə̂ŋ -niŋ   niŋ-siŋ-lək -í
      startle-wish wish-pl-distal-nhyp
      suddenly remember   SOYBə7

The example in (6) represent the set of roots that are commonly used in such duplicated forms. For this reason, many descriptions of M analyze these stems as prefixes that trigger or occur with duplication (for example, Yashwanta Singh (1988)). These are: khə̂ŋ 'startle' as in (6a,b); pəŋ 'idiot' used to mean 'to V foolishly or carelessly' as in (6c); púm 'all' used to mean 'to V thoroughly' as in (6d) or extended to signify 'to V with abandon, recklessly or excessively' as in (6e); púŋ 'dense' to mean 'to V in large amounts' as in (6f).

(6c)

pəŋčət   čə́tpə

pəŋ-čət   čə́t -pə

fool-go   fool-nom

to go carelessly

NG241.5

(6d)

púmgaw   kawbə

púm-kaw   kaw -pə

all-forget   forget-nom

to forget completely

(SN)HM22.71

(6e)

púmkáw   káwbə

púm-káw   káw -pə

all-kick   kick-nom

to kick without aim

(SN)HM22.7n

(6f)

púŋŋəm   ŋəmbə

púŋ -ŋəm   ŋəm   -pə

dense-possible   possible-nom

to be all powerful

Khelchandra183

(6g)

čenkáw   káwbə

čen-káw   káw -pə

run-kick   kick-nom

to kick while to

running   CND33.7

(6h)

némtháŋ   tháŋbə

ném -tháŋ   tháŋ-pə

force-carry   carry-nom

carry with force

CND33.11

The same pattern is found with the stems rok, trik and throŋ exemplified in (4) above.

(6i)

məhak   ŋəwrok   ŋəwwí

mə-hak   ŋəw -rok   ŋəw -í

3P-hon   white-rok   white-nhyp

he too white is white

He is completely white.   CND5.4

(6j)

səŋtrik   səŋbə

səŋ -trik   səŋ -pə

green-trik   green-nom

too green   HM25.146

(6k) məkhoy wáŋthroŋ wáŋthroŋ wáŋŋí
      mə-khoy wáŋ -throŋ wáŋ -throŋ wáŋ -í
      3P-pl   tall-throŋ tall-throŋ tall-nhyp
      they   too tall   too tall   are tall
      They are all very tall.   NG160.3

In left headed VV compounds the head of the compound
is repeated. In these cases too, the second root of the
compound has an extended meaning so that in (61) pek
'touch' means 'sudden'; in (6m) suk 'all' means
'completely'; and in (6n) thit 'mix' means 'heavily'
(possibly from the sense of all together).

(61) khəŋpék   khəŋbə   (6m) músuk   múbə
      khəŋ-pék   khəŋ -pə   mú -suk mú -pə
      know-touch know-nom   black-all black-nom
      sudden knowledge   completely black
      Pt52.7   HM25.146

(6n) nóŋsi   phudit   phunə   čúí
      nóŋ -si   phu -thit phu -nə čú -í
      rain-pdet beat-mix   beat-adv wash-nhyp
      rain   like beating   rained
      It rained heavily last night.   HM25.146.2

In such collocations, the stem i 'full' present only
in these forms is commonly used to give the meaning 'to be
completely V, totally V'.

```
(6o)                              (6p)
ičə́m       čə́mbə               əy ičá       čáy
i   -čə́m   čəm   -pə            əy i  -čá   čá -í
full-direct direct-nom          I  full-eat eat-nhyp
absolutely true, simple         I  eat everything
CND21.8                         NG159.1
```

í can also be extended to indicate a superlative quality or quantity:

```
(6q)  usinə           iwáŋ      wáŋní
      u    -si -nə    i   -wáŋ  wáŋ -í
      wood-pdet-CNTR  full-tall tall-nhyp
      this tree       is the tallest
      This tree is the tallest one.       YS(1988)237.21c
```

or a usual or persistently existing state:

```
(6r)  məhakki       məsə́m  iphə́     phə́y
      mə-hak -ki    mə-sə́m i   -phə́ pha-í
      3P-here-gen   3P-hair full-dry dry-nhyp
      his           hair    is completely dry
      His hair is normally dry.            YS(1988)237.22b
```

9.2 Echo Collocations

I use the term echo collocation to refer to a constituent where members of the constituent are prosodically matched. I distinguish between (i) the juxtaposition of echoing words where the constituents in the collocation are created through regular inflectional or derivational processes and (ii) echo words which involve a

combination of a free standing form with a nonsense syllable. These echo forms function syntactically as a single lexical constituent and have the structure given in (1) where two lexical categories are combined to stand for one instance of that lexical category.

9.2.0.1 Echo collocations with free forms

Echo collocations with free standing forms can be of three types:

(1)   two different stems, identical affixes
(2)   two identical stems, different affixes
(3)   two stems (choice prosodically determined), identical affixes

Each of these types is discussed below.

9.2.0.1.1 Two different stems with the same affixes

It is possible to juxtapose two different roots/stems with the same derivational morphology where the roots/stems (a) refer to two (often widely divergent) members of the same set of actions, properties or qualities; and (b) have the same number of syllables. The fact that the roots/stems have the same number of syllables and appear with the same derivational morphology allow for the sequence to be prosodically balanced, the second root/stem echoing the first in its rhythm. The meaning signalled by such a juxtaposition of stems is 'this V/N and V's/N's like it; this V/N, that V/N etc.'

(7a) sétčəniŋbə   čájəniŋbə

     sét -čə   -niŋ-pə   čá -jə -niŋ -pə

     wear-self-wish-nom   eat-self-wish-nom

     wishing to wear and eat   CND21.6

(7b) is an interesting example: the monomorphemic form <u>həway</u> is misanalyzed as being bimorphemic, the second syllable is considered to be the adverbial marker <u>way</u> 'thereabouts' which is used to mean 'around this N or N's like it'. <u>həway</u> is juxtaposed with the complex word <u>ceŋway</u> which consists of the stem <u>cen</u> 'rice' and the adverbial marker <u>way</u>.

(7b) həway   čéŋway

     lentils rice-thereabouts

     lentils and rice and such   CND36.2a

This type of echo word formation is also possible with matching inflectional morphology on juxtaposed stems. Such echo words show that two actions occur concurrently: thus in (7c) the infinitive marker <u>-pə</u> and in (7d) the copula <u>-ni</u> occur on both words in the echo word.

(7c)

aykhoydi	tumba	čába	čéŋlakte
ay-khoy-ti	tum -pa	čá -pa	čéŋ -lak -ta -e
I -pl -DLMT	sleep-nom	eat-nom	enter-distal-neg-asrt
our	sleeping	eating	enter

Our basic comforts did not enter the picture.   aMUK63a

(7d) kóyni   láŋni

      kóy -ni láŋ-ni

      roam-COP cast-COP

      roam about   aMUK64

The same type of echo word is present with compounds where the initial stem in both compound of the collocation has the same number of syllables and both compounds have the same second root/stem. Also, the first root/stem in both compounds of the collocation refer to two (often widely divergent) members of the same set of actions, properties or qualities.

(7e) čákyón   phíyón   (7f) čátphám lakphám

      čák -yón phí -yón   čát-phám lak -phám

      rice-sell cloth-sell   go-place come-place

      distribution of rice   place of goings and

      and clothes   CND21.5   comings   CND21.10

(7g) phísa   lonsa   (7h) háynam   láynam

      phí -sa   lon -sa   háy -nam láy -nam

      cloth-weave embroider-weave fruit-smell flower-smell

      weaving, embroidery and   the smell of flowers

      the like   CND36.4a   and fruit   CND28.11

The forms in (7) have the following structure:

(7i)

X^0

X^0   X^0

| |

W   W
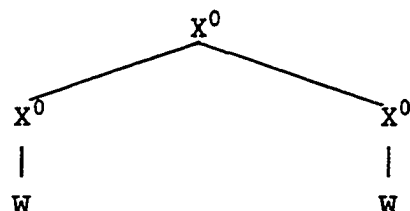
stem[a] Aff[b]   stem[c] + Affix[b]

There are also some idiomatic phrases which are composed of a collocation of two compounds where the second compound in the phrase is from a limited set given in (8). The original meaning of the stems of this second compound is obscured: the stem lak 'come' is lexicalized to mean 'V in this manner', poy 'wander' is used to mean 'to sort of V' as in (8a,b) and kum 'like' is used to mean 'to do part of V' as in (8c).[4]

_____

[4] There are examples of productive compounding with poy in noun-verb compounds (see (i). However, this is not available in verb-verb compounds except in these idiomatic phrases. Similarly, with the exception of duplicated forms, kum is used to modify nouns not verbs.

(i)   sənboy
      sən-poy
      cow-wander
      stray cattle   NG229.998

(8a)   čáboy   lakpoy
         čá -poy   lak -poy
         eat-wander come-wander
         sort of eat sort of come
         eat just a little (not hungry but eating a little
         to satisty someone's request that you eat)
                                         HM14.74.2

(8b)   tumboy   lakpoy
         tum -poy   lak -poy
         sleep-wander come-wander
         sort of sleep sort of come
         sort of sleeping   HM14.74.3

(8c)   khəŋgum   lakkum
         khəŋ-kum   lak -kum
         know -like   come-like
         similar to knowing similar to coming
         knows something but not the whole story HM25.95.1

(8d)   khutthəm   lakthəm
         khut -thəm   lak -thəm
         class-keep   come-keep
         method of keeping things like coming
         method of keeping, and the like   CND34.7

(8e)   khutyéŋ   lakyéŋ
         khut -yéŋ   lak -yéŋ
         class-look   come-look
         method of looking things like looking
         manner of looking and the like   HM(1989)4.13

The compounds in (8) have a similar structure as in (1):
(8f)

```
                    X⁰
              _____|_____
             /             \
          X⁰                 X⁰
         /  \               /  \
       X⁰    X⁰           X⁰    X⁰
       |     |            |     |
       |     |            |     |
     stem + stem        stem + stem
```
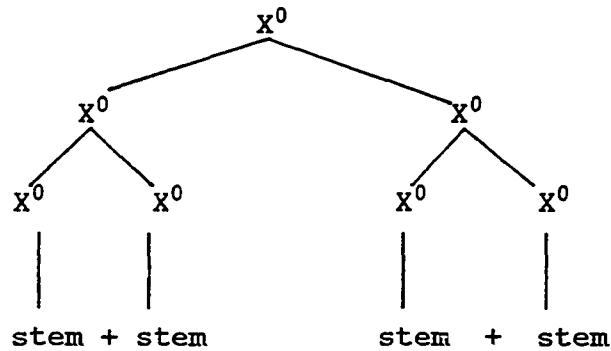
9.2.0.1.2 Two different stems and a different number of syllables

Lexical collocations may consist of a constituent with a monosyllabic stem followed by a constituent with a bisyllabic stem. The meaning signalled is a collection of like objects.

(9a) phîsu   phəneksu   (9b) čáksu   yénsaŋsu
     phî -su   phənek-su   čák -su   yénsaŋ-su
     cloth-also phənek-also   rice-also curry -also
     clothes and phənek[5] also   rice and curry too

---

[5] The **phənek** refers to the traditional garment worn by Meitei women. It is a single piece of cloth which is wrapped at the waist and falls to the ankles.

(9c) kwáne   mǝnane

      kwá   -ne   mǝ-na   -ne

      betel nut-SI   nm-leaf-SI

      betel nut and leaves

The collocations illustrated in (9) have the structure
given in (9d).

(9d)

$$X^0$$

$$X^0 \qquad\qquad X^0$$

$$| \qquad\qquad\qquad |$$

W   W
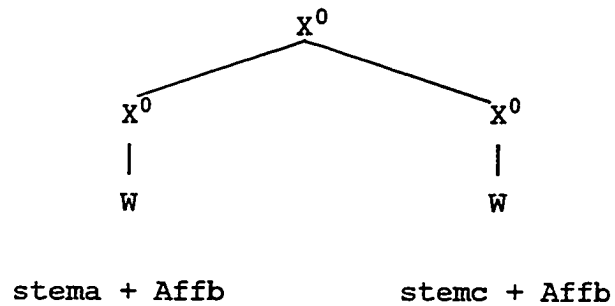
      stema + Affb   stemc + Affb

9.2.0.1.3 Two identical stems with different affixes

Echo collocations, where both constituents of the form have the same stem, have the structure given in (10a).

(10a)

$$X^0$$

X⁰   X⁰

| |

W   W

stema + Affb   stema + Affc
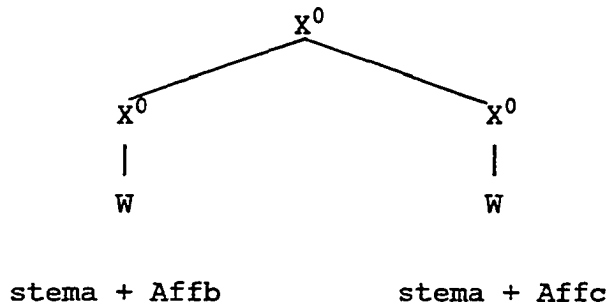
Such collocations are formed through opposing semantically polarized derivational or inflectional morphology. In (10b,c) for example, a positive form of the verb is opposed to the negative form of the verb.

(10b)	óybə	óydəbə	(10c)	óyni	óyroy
	óy-pə	óy-tə -pə		óy-ni	óy-loy
	be-nom	be-neg-nom		be-COP	be-npot
	to be	to not be		will be	will not be
	to be or not to be			will be or will not be	
	CND21.4			CND22.3	

Similarly, the derivational morphemes -thok 'to V outwards' and -sin 'to V inwards' form a frame ____-thok ____-sin, with variable slots which can be filled by verbs of motion (eg. going, coming) or those that involve movement (eg. pulling, carrying). The resulting meaning is

that the action is carried out repeatedly and with no perceivable end.

(10d) čə́tthok čə́tsin   (10e) puthok   pusin
     čə́t-thok čə́t-sin   pu   -thok pu   -sin
     go -out go -in   carry-out carry-in
     to walk back and forth   to carry in and out
     YS(1988)233.2   YS(1988)233.2

Other common "frames" of this sort are given in (10f-o). The frame in (10f) is the derivational morphemes -khət 'to V upwards' and -thə 'to V downwards'. The frame in (10g) is comprised of the nominalizers -tə́nə 'by Ving' and -ləbədi 'if Ving' which form a frame:__ -tə́nə ___ -ləbədi.

(10f) hángət   hándə
     hán -khət hán   -thə
     return-up   return-down
     to go to and fro   CND24.1

(10g)
nə́ptə́nə   nə́pləbədi   khərə wáŋnə   nə́ppu
nə́p -tə́nə nə́p -ləbədi khərə wáŋ -nə   nə́p -u
paste-by   paste-if   some   high-adv   paste-imp
pasting   if pasting   somewhat higher   paste it
If you genuinely intend to paste it here you should
paste it a little higher.   HM25.142.1

As in other South Asian languages, following an apparent principle of iconicity, imperatives are often repeated to denote a sense of urgency, sarcasm, etc. For example, when the enclitic following the first verb stem is

the delimitative marker -ti, the meaning of the full
duplicated form can be translated as 'make sure do/don't do
this V:

(10h)
čádi   čáw
čá -ti   čá -u
eat-DMLT eat-imp
eating   eat
Please be sure to eat these
see you haven't eaten them
just yet!   HM25.144.7

(10i)
kəpti   kəpkənu
kəp-ti   kəp-kə -nu
cry-DLMT cry-pot-prohb
crying   don't cry
(Do anything but) don't (I
cry!   HM25.144.5

When the enclitic following the first verb stem is the
exclusive marker -tə, the meaning of the full duplicated
form can be translated as 'stop all other action and do
just this V':

(10j) čádə   čáw
      čá -tə   čá -u
      eat-EX   eat-imp
      just eat   eat
      (Stop messing around) and eat!   HM25.144.1

(10k)
ŋaydə   ŋayyu   má soydənə   lakkəni
ŋay-tə   ŋay -u   má soy   -tənə lak -kə -ni
wait-EX   wait-imp   he certain-by   come-pot-COP
just wait   wait   he certainly   will come
(Stop bothering me with inquiries and) wait for him,
he will surely come.   HM25.143.2

Examples (10l) and (10m) can be used as warnings when said with emphatic intonation which entails an increase in amplitude, clipping of the final vowel, faster speed of utterance. It signals meanings like, 'Just do that V and see what happens (you will be punished) (HM25.143).'

This pattern of duplication is also possible with -kum 'like', with the meaning, 'Don't just kind of V, (really) do V.

(10n)		(10o)	
čádum	čáw	nóktum	nóku
čá -kum	čá -u	nók -kum	nók -u
eat-like	eat-imp	laugh-like	laugh-imp
like eating	eat	like laughing	laugh
Just eat instead of asking		Don't (fake sadness),	
questions about the food!		kind of laughing, just	
HM25.145.1		laugh!	HM25.144.4

9.2.0.2 Echo word formation

Echo word formation takes place with monomorphemic bisyllabic stems where such stems are either loan words or morphologically complex words that have been lexicalized and are no longer segmentable. Echo word formations can follow two patterns. In the first pattern, a bisyllabic noun is combined with a compound noun which is composed of nay which means 'and all like things, etc. with the first syllable of the noun to be modified.

	(11a)		(11b)		(11c)
	čəphu čənay		čəru čənay		čəjik čənay
	čəphu čə-nay		čəru čə-nay		čəjik čə -nay
	pot copy-etc		straw copy-et		cold rice copy-etc
	pots and such		straw etc.		old rice etc.

The compounds function like words. Similar pseudo-words are also created where second syllable of a bi-syllabic noun stem is compounded with nung which also means 'and all like things, etc.' (nung appears in other than echo words: for example, unung 'trees and the like' with nung compounded to u 'tree' (HM1989:2)).

(12a)	upu nuŋpu	(12b)	phənek nuŋnek
	upu nuŋ-pu		phənek nuŋ-nek
	box etc -copy		phanek etc -copy
	boxes and such		phənek and such

(12c)	čini nuŋni	(12d)	komla nuŋla
	čini nuŋ-ni		komla nuŋ-la
	sugar etc-copy		orange etc-copy
	sugar and such		oranges and such

Forms in (12) have the structure given in (12e):

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(12e)


```
                          X⁰
                    _____/_____
                   /              \
                  X̄⁰              X̄⁰
                   |                |
                   W                W

                 stem           nay+copy
```
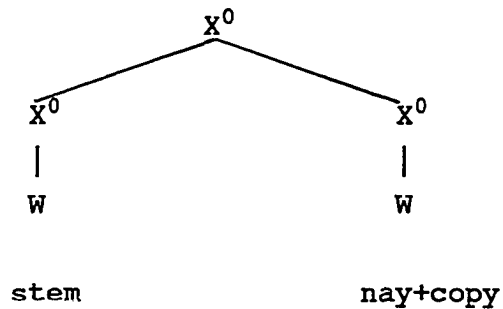
Compounds may occur in similar echo words. Here the right hand stem of a nominal compound is compounded with **luk** 'and all like things, etc.'. The compound in (13a) occurs as an echo word in (13b).

(13a) khoŋbal   (13b) khoŋballukpal
      khoŋ -pan   drainage and such
      canal-bank
      drainage   HM(1988)5.10

The pseudo word may also be a compound consisting of **reŋ** which gives the same meaning as **luk**. In this case the repeated stem comes first:

(13c) səŋgəy   kəyreŋ
      səŋ   -kəy   kəy -reŋ
      edifice-roam roam-and such
      buildings, etc.

Following a third pattern a derived adjective (from a verb root with the affixation of the attributive prefix **ə-**) or derived nominal (from a verb root with affixation of the prefix **mə-**) is echoed by a pseudo-word which consists of

the prefix of the first constituent of the echo word form
and the stem <u>lak</u> 'V in this manner' (see above). In the
case of (14a-c) the echo word forms a compound adjective
and in (14d) a compound noun.

(14a) əču   ərak   (14b) əmú   ərak
      ə -ču   ə-lak   ə -mú   ə-lak
      att-stain att-etc   att-black att-etc
      stained, etc.   black, etc.   CND35

(14c) ərə́ŋ   ərak   (14d) məču   məraŋ
      ə -lə́ŋ ə -lak   mə-ču   mə-raŋ
      att-bright att-etc   nm -color nm-etc
      bright, etc.   color, etc.

Although it is clear that the choice of <u>nay, nung,</u>
<u>lak, luk and reng</u> is dependent on the structure of the echo
word, it is not clear what the differing functions of each
form is.

9.3 Ideophones

This is an alphabetical list of ideophones compiled
from my fieldnotes, texts and 5 works on M including the
<u>Manipuri to Manipuri to English Dictionary</u> compiled by
Khelchandra (1964). Additional forms can be found in Abbi
(1991:16).

(15) bri bri pumbə   (16) čəbeŋ čəbeŋ ŋáŋŋí
    bri bri pum -pə   čəbeŋ čəbeŋ ŋáŋ -í
    bri bri rotten-nom   čəbeŋ čəbeŋ speak-nhyp
    the sound of things   spoke incessantly
    getting rotten   Pt52   NG151

(17) čəp čəp láwbə   (18) ček ček khóŋlí
    čəp čəp láw -pə   ček ček khóŋ -í
    čəp čəp shout-nom   ček ček sounds-nhyp
    to smack   the sounds birds make when
    Khelchandra88   chirping   YS(1988)234.12

(19) črik črik láwbə   (20) gəm gəm čə́tpə
    črik črik láw -pə   gəm gəm čə́t-pə
    črik črik shout-nom   gəm gəm go -nom
    to make a cracking   to walk briskly
    sound   Khelchandra99   Khelchandra80

(21) məhaknə   yubi   gəw gəw sáyrəmmí
    mə-hak-nə   yubi   gəw gəw sáy -ləm-í
    3P-here-CNTR coconut gəw gəw chew-evd-nhyp
    He chewed the coconut making this sound.   CND38.8

(22) grəw grəw sáyrí   (23) graŋ graŋ láwbə
    grəw grəw sáy -í   graŋ graŋ láw -pə
    grəw grəw chew-nhyp   graŋ grand shout-nom
    to chew in the manner   to rumble   Khelchandra80
    that creates this
    crunchy sound   PT52

(24) **graw graw**

    the barking of a dog   CND38.1

(25) nóŋnə   **groŋ groŋ** háynə   khóŋŋí

     nóŋ-nə   groŋ groŋ háy-nə khóŋ -í

     rain-CNTR groŋ groŋ say-adv sound-nhyp

     the sound made by rainfall   CND38.7

(26) **hambe hambe** khóŋbə

     hambe hambe khóŋ -pə

     hambe hambe sound-nom

     sound made by lowing of cattle   PT52

(27) **hayrəp hayrəp**   nókpə

     hayrəp hayrəp   nók -pə

     hayrəp hayrəp   laugh-nom

     the way a smile comes over a face   PT52

(28) **jari jari** čə́tpə   (29) **jo jo** ŋáwbə[6]

     jari jari čə́t-pə   jo jo ŋáw-pə

     jari jari go-nom   jo jo fry-nom

     gliding sound of   frying sound of fish

     clothes   PT52   PT52

---

[6] Also given as <u>jaw jaw ngáwbə</u> 'to fry' (Khelchandra 105).

(30) **ko ko khóŋbə**   (31) **kok kok huki**
     ko ko khóŋ -pə   kok kok huk-i
     ko ko voice-nom   kok kok eat-nom
     to make a barking   put into the mouth in
     sound   PT52   quick succession   NG151

(32) **krak krak čikpə**   (33) **krik krik takpə**
     krak krak čik   -pə   krik krik tak-pə
     krak krak scratch-nom   krik krik rub-nom
     gnashing sound of teeth sound of rubbing (as on
                           a grinding stone)   PT52

(34) **ku ku**   (35) **kuk kuk**
     sound made when asking sound made when asking
     babies to drink water   babies to drink (something
                           other than water)
                           Kelchandra52

(36) **kukru kukru**   (37) **kuphet kuphet təwbə**
     a pigeon's cry   kuphet kuphet təw-pə
     CND38.4   kuphet kuphet do -nom
                           to twinkle (as stars or fire
                           flies)   PT52

(38) **kwaknə**   **kwak**   **kwak**
     kwak-nə   kwak   kwak
     crow-CNTR kwak   kwak
     the kwak kwak cry of the crow   CND37.5

(39) nuŋsitnə liri liri sitlí
     nuŋsit-nə liri liri sit -í
     wind-CNTR liri liri blow-nhyp
     the soft way the wind blows   CND38.5

(40) lumbu lumbu šábə   (41) mi mi láwbə
     lumbu lumbu čá -pə   mi mi láw -pə
     lumbu lumbu hot-nom   mi mi shout-nom
     with the chill off   to have a low tone
     (luke-warm)   PT52   Khelchandra236

(42) sənnə   mo mo   (43) murum murum sollí
     sən-nə   mo mo   murum murum son -í
     cow-CNTR mo mo   murum murum utter-nhyp
     the mooing of a cow   to mutter   CND19.13
     CND37.6

(44) nap nap láwbə   (45) ŋarəŋ ŋarəŋ ŋáŋbə
     nap nap láw -pə   ŋarəŋ ŋarəŋ ŋáŋ -pə
     nap nap soft-nom   ŋarəŋ ŋarəŋ speak-nom
     to be supple   roaring or rumbling sound
     Khelchandra146   of a tiger or thunder   PT52

(46) ŋaraŋ ŋaraŋ čakpə   (47) nyaw nyaw
     ŋaraŋ ŋaraŋ čak-pə   meowing of a cat
     ngaraŋ ŋaraŋ burn-nom   CND38.2
     sound of burning (at fire) PT52

(48) oro oro čenbə   (49) pat pat
    oro oro čen-pə   sound made to ask a tame
    oro oro run -nom   elephant to sit down
    roaring sound (of running   Khlechandra169
    water)   PT52

(50) piŋ piŋ čóŋbə   (51) prəp prəp thókləkləgə
    piŋ piŋ čóŋ-pə   prəp prəp thók-lək -ləgə
    piŋ piŋ jump-nom   prəp prəp out-distal-having
    to make a beating sound   coming out quickly
    SOYBə8   while jumping   PT52

(52) preŋ preŋ ŋáŋbə   (53) phədət phədət čə́tli
    preŋ preŋ ŋáŋ   -pə   phədət phədət čə́t-li
    preŋ preŋ prattle-nom   phədət phədət go -prog
    to prattle   making this sound while
    Khelchandra191   walking   CND37.4

(54) phən phən čóŋbə   (55) phən phən láwbə
    phən phən čóŋ -pə   phən phən láw -pə
    phən phən jump-nom   phən phən shout-nom
    to jump jerkily   the way a bird chirps
    Khelchandra191   YS(1988)234.12

(56) phərəŋ phərəŋ čóŋŋi
    phərəŋ phərəŋ čóŋ -li
    phərəŋ phərəŋ jump-prog
    jumping in quick succession   NG151

(57) **phet phet** təwbə
    phet phet təw-pə
    phet phet do -nom
    to pounce on
    Khelchandra196

(58) **phoŋ phoŋ** šánə
    phoŋ phoŋ čá -nə
    phoŋ phoŋ hot-adv
    getting hot (steam
    appearing)   PT52

(59) **phuŋ phuŋ** kabə   (60)
    phuŋ phuŋ ka   -pə
    phuŋ phuŋ climb-nom
    to puff up (as steam)
    PT52

(60) **phraŋ phraŋ** čoŋbə
    phraŋ phraŋ čoŋ -pə
    phraŋ phraŋ jump-nom
    jump in a bouncing fashion
        Khelchandra191

(61) **sət sət** haŋŋi   (62)
    sət sət haŋ -li
    sət sət open-prog
    opening in quick
    succession   NG151

(62) **šo šo** ŋaŋbə
    šo šo ŋəŋ -pə
    šo šo harsh-nom
    to flare up in a temper
    PT52

(63) **šriŋ šraŋ** láwbə   (64)
    šriŋ šraŋ láw -pə
    šriŋ šraŋ shout-nom
    to jingle
    Khelchandra297

(64) **srit srit** nanbə
    srit srit nan -pə
    srit srit slime-nom
    the way something is
    slippery   YS(1988)234.12

(65) **tək tək** thilli   (66)
    tək tək thin-li
    tək tək beat-prog
    knocking repeatedly
    NG151

(66) **təp təp** tabə
    təp təp ta -pə
    təp təp fall-nom
    way the water falls
    Khelchandra109

(67) tar tar čiŋ šinbə
     tar tar siŋ siŋ -pə
     tar tar spasm spasm-nom
     way of shuddering   Khlechandra110

(68) tek tek čə́tlibə   ghəridu   purə?u
     tek tek čə́t-li -pə ghəri -tu pu -lək   -u
     tek tek go -prog-nom vechile-ddet carry-distal-imp
     tek tek which goes   that watch bring here
     Bring me the watch that goes tic tic.   CND39.3

(69) troŋ troŋ háybə   isiŋgi   məkhól   tari
     troŋ troŋ háy-pə isiŋ-ki mə-khón ta -li
     troŋ troŋ say-nom water-gen nm-voice fall-prog
     the sound that running water makes   CND38.7

(70) thik thik nókpə   (71) thuk thuk čóŋbə
     thik thik nók -pə   thuk thuk čóŋ -pə
     thik thik laugh-nom   thuk thuk jump-nom
     to titter   to palpitate
     Khelchandra132   Khelchandra133

(72) uron uron təwbə
     uron uron təw-pə
     uron uron do-nom
     to take a nap   Khelchandra38

(73) yəw yəw əmuk   láwribəse
     yəw yəw ə -muk   láw   -li -pəsi
     yəw yəw att-once   should-prog-COMP
     yəw yəw now   that being noisy
     that way of being noisy now   əMUK140

10 Lexical and Post-lexical phonological rules

In keeping with current phonological theory (Pulleyblank (1983); Selkirk (1984); Booij and Rubach (1987)), I assume that that there are two basic types of phonological rules: lexical and postlexical. In M the significant distinctions between these classes are listed in Table 1.

Table 1: Relevant distinctions between lexical and postlexical rules for Manipuri
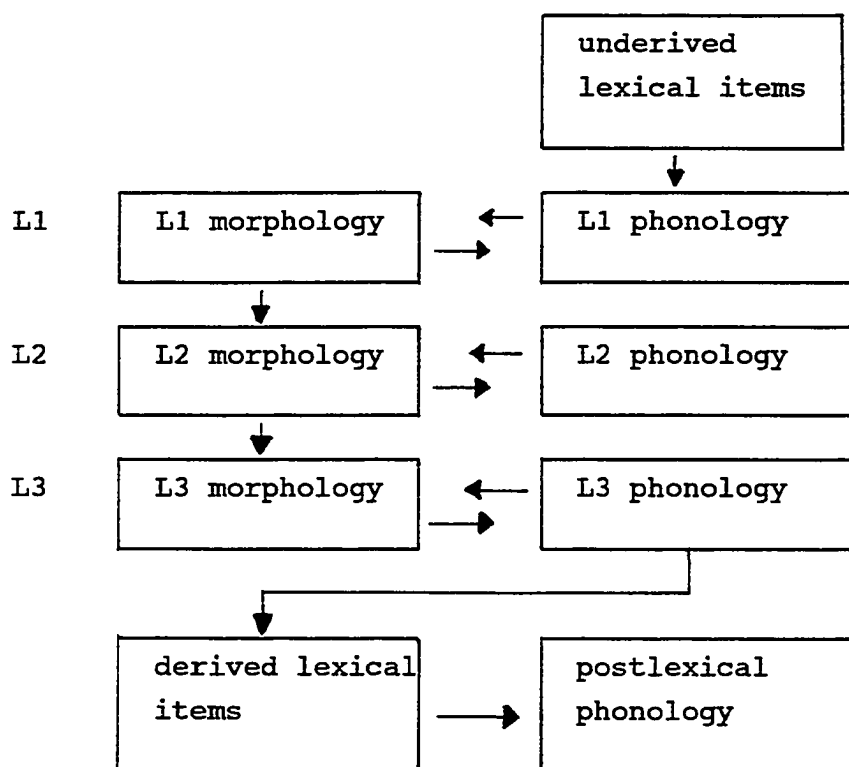
Lexical rules	Postlexical rules
apply only in particular morphological environments	apply across the board
are structure-preserving (do not introduce sounds not present in the phonemic inventory of M)	not necessarily structure-preserving
cyclic	non-cyclic

The goal of this chapter is to describe both the lexical and postlexical phonological rules of M. I will first present a discussion of the theory of Lexical Phonology and Morphology (LPM) (Kiparsky, 1982, 1983; Mohanan 1986), which is utilized in describing the interaction of phonological rules and morphology in M. I

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will also show how the lexical rules of M are ordered in the LPM model. Finally, I will provide a description of the post-lexical rules and the rules of phonetic implementation specific to M.

10.1 Theoretical background

In LPM, word formation and phonological processes are organized in hierarchically ordered levels (L) as shown in Figure 1. Underived lexical items feed into L1 phonology. L1 phonology feeds into L1 morphology. The arrows from L1 phonology to L1 morphology and from L1 morphology to L1 phonology indicate that rules apply recursively within that level of the Lexicon. As indicated by the arrows, rules also apply recursively at L2 and L3. Phonological rules which apply at a given level are scanned for applicability each time a form is created by word formation processes. The output of L1 feeds into L2, the output of L2 feeds into L3 and the output of L3 feeds into a post-lexical module on which postlexical phonological rules apply. Phonological rules of L1 apply only to forms created at L1; L1 phonology is 'turned off' after L1. Since the output of L1 is fed into L2, the phonological rules of L2 apply to forms created at L1, as well as to those created at L2. Also, the phonological rules of L2 do not apply after L2. Since the ou put of L2 is fed into L3, the phonological rules of L3 apply to forms created at L1, L2 and L3. However, L3 phonological rules apply only at L3 and are inoperative at the postlexical level.

Figure 1: The Lexicon in the theory of LPM[1]

```
                                    +------------------+
                                    | underived        |
                                    | lexical items    |
                                    +------------------+
                                             |
                                             v
L1    +------------------+    <---   +------------------+
      | L1 morphology    |    --->   | L1 phonology     |
      +------------------+           +------------------+
             |
             v
L2    +------------------+    <---   +------------------+
      | L2 morphology    |    --->   | L2 phonology     |
      +------------------+           +------------------+
             |
             v
L3    +------------------+    <---   +------------------+
      | L3 morphology    |    --->   | L3 phonology     |
      +------------------+           +------------------+
             |
             v
      +------------------+           +------------------+
      | derived lexical  |    --->   | postlexical      |
      | items            |           | phonology        |
      +------------------+           +------------------+
```

Since no morphological processes take place post lexically, postlexical rules do not apply cyclically. This is indicated by the arrows in Figure 1.

One of the central ideas in LPM is that rules are

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[1] I have indicated that post-lexical phonological rules operate on derived lexical items. Although such rules are usually seen as applying on phrasal or sentential consituents, they may also apply at the word level as long as they do not make reference to word-internal structure (Archangeli (1984)).

disjunctively ordered according to the Elsewhere Condition (EC), as stated in Kiparsky (1984):

The Elsewhere Condition:
Rules A, B, in the same component apply disjunctively if and only if:
[i]   The input of A is a proper subset of the input of B
[ii] The inputs of A and B are distinct

The EC is used to account for the blocking of regular affixation on forms which (perhaps because of their historical pedigree) undergo irregular morphophonology. For example, English plurals are usually formed through the suffixation of a morpheme /-z/. Thus the plural of <u>book</u> is <u>books</u>. This is a regular rule which can be applied to most nouns in English. There is another rule with much more restricted application which also creates plurals: this rule gives us <u>men</u> and <u>feet</u> from <u>man</u> and <u>foot</u> respectively (not <u>*mans</u> or <u>*foots</u>). In such cases, the EC allows us to say that the application of the regular plural formation rule (which applies in the elsewhere environment) is blocked by the application of the irregular plural formation rule (which applies to a small subset of English nouns). The disjunctive ordering of the plural formation rules in English would be:

Rule A: insert pl   / $[[X]_N$
        (morpheme internal change)   (where   X = f o o t ,
                                     man, etc...)

Rule B: insert /-z/   / $[[X]_{N\_\_\_\_}]$

By the EC, rule A would apply before rule B since rule A is a specific instance of Rule B (thereby matching the [i] part of the condition. The application of A on forms like <u>foot</u> and <u>man</u> restricts the application of the more general rule B. This restriction correctly blocks the application of the regular rule to the forms which have irregular plurals.

Furthermore, it is also assumed in LPM that every lexical item (which is the output of every level) is a lexical insertion rule of the form $\emptyset \rightarrow$ [lexical item]. If each lexical item is a rule itself then a lexical item can be the A rule in a pair of disjunctively ordered rules A and B.

One further concept which needs to be introduced is the Strict Cycle Condition (SCC). The basic idea of the SCC is that cyclic rules may not apply to underived environments. A derived environment is where some morphological or phonological rule has applied to a lexical item at a level of the LPM. Further explanation and justification for the SCC can be found in Kiparsky (1982, 1985), Rubach (1984) and Halle and Mohanan (1985) among others.

10.2 Lexical rules

In this section, the phonological rules of M are described along with examples of application and information specifying the morphological environments where a rule applies or fails to apply. Rules are formalized using nonlinear phonological representations postulated through feature geometry. The version of feature geometry assumed here is Sagey (1986).[2]

10.2.1 Voicing assimilation rule (VAR)

Syllable-initial voiceless unaspirated stops are voiced between voiced segments.[3] As illustrated in (1), this Voicing assimilation rule (VAR), applies with the suffixation of the nominalizer -pə when it is suffixed to a stem that ends in a voiced segment. When the stem ends with a voiceless segment, the initial stop of the suffix is voiceless. Similar examples are given in (1b-d) with the

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[2] Concerning the position of [lateral] in the feature geometry, I follow Levin (1987), in asuming that it is a dependent of [Coronal].

[3] The negative marker -tə provides an exception to this rule in frozen forms such a nətte 'not' which is composed of identifiable morphs: nə 'be' (not a free form in M), along with -tə the negative marker and the assertive marker -e. In all other environments the negative marker does voice as expected e.g. páydənə 'not flying', paydənə 'not holding'. See Chapter 2 for full gloss.

affixation of the genitive, locative, and associative markers, respectively.

(1) (a) -pə 'nom' čábə 'to eat' pikpə 'to be small'
  (b) -ki 'gen' thági 'of moon' phuritki 'of shirt'
  (c) -tə 'loc' číŋdə 'on hill' ləmpaktə 'on ground'
  (d) -kə 'ass' mígə 'with man' khutkə 'with hand'

Voicing in compounds is formalized as R1a:

(R1a) Voice Assimilation:

[voice]   [-continuant]
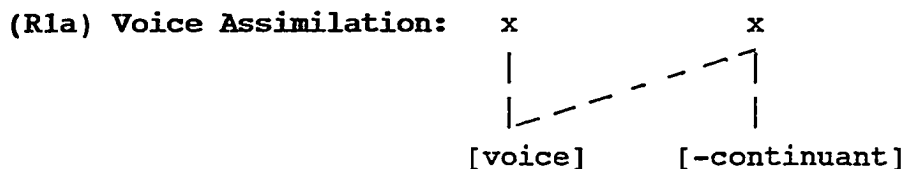
Voicing also occurs in compounds where the second stem of the compound has a low tone. This is illustrated in (2a-c). As seen in (2d-f) in compounds where the second stem has a high tone VAR does not apply.

(2a) poybə 'to wander' lə́mboybə
             lə́m -poy   -pə
             path-wander-nom
             wanderer

(2b) čin   'border' kumjin
             kum -čin
             year-border
             early part

(2c) čitpə 'to sweep' sumjit

súm -čit

filter-sweep

broom

(2d) pákpə 'to be broad' təmpák

təm -pák

stretch-broad

valley

(2e) kábə 'to rise' iká

i -ká

water-rise

flood

(2f) kəkpə 'to cut' ukək

u -kək

tree-cut

log

Voicing in compounding is formalized in R1:

(R1b) Voice Assimilation:

[voice] [-continuant] [low tone]
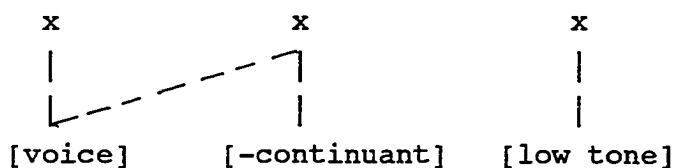
Two distinct voicing rules are required because, whereas voicing in compounding is sensitive to the tone of the syllable on which voicing applies, this is not true for

suffixation. Refer to (3a,b) where the suffix voices regardless of the tone it bears.

(3a) kabədənə   (3b) kabədə́nə
     ka   -pə -tə -nə   ka   -pə-tə́nə
     attend-nom-loc-adv   attend-nom-by
     when attending   by attending

A further fact about VAR is that it fails to apply with prefixation. For example in (4a) with the affixation of i- 'first person pronominal', the initial consonant of the stem pá 'father' does not voice. See also (4b-d).

(4) (a) pá 'father'   ipá 'my father'
    (b) pu 'grandfather' məpu 'his/her grandfather'

(c) məpá   (d) ətənbə
    mə-pá   ə -tən -pə
    nm-read   att-short-nom
    method of reading   that which is short

As illustrated by the minimal pair in (4e) tone is not significant in the failure of VAR to apply with prefixation. In keeping with the pattern seen for prefixation with regard to voicing, the initial consonant of the stem following the prefix does not voice regardless of the tone of the stem.

(4e) əpaybə   učék   versus   əpáybə   kolom
     ə -pay-pə učék   ə -páy -pə kolom
     att-fly-nom bird   att-hold-nom pen
     the bird that is flying   the pen that is held

In the LPM model, the correct characterization of Rla and Rlb can be made by pairing the morphological environments where each rule applies with the application of that rule.

Level 1	compounding	Rlb
Level 2	suffixation	Rla, other level 2 phonology
Level 3	prefixation	level 3 phonology

Note here that this level ordering restricts the application of Rla to L2 with suffixation and Rlb to compounds which are created at L1. VAR will not apply at level 3 (L3), where prefixation takes place since it is turned off at the end of L2. In this way, the application of the rule to prefixation is blocked. Consider the derivation of a form like iká 'flood water': the stems i and ká will be compounded at L1. The form will not undergo Rla since the second stem has high tone. Since there exists an identity rule of the form [ika] →[ika], the form will be disjuntively ordered with Rla at L2. Thus the compound will correctly not undergo the rule.

10.2.2 Deaspiration (DASP)

A rule similar to Grassmann's Law deaspirates an aspirated consonant when it is preceded by /h/ or an aspirated consonant. For example in (5), DASP applies with suffixation and with some compounds but not with prefixation. First, DASP applies when the First Level verb derivational suffixes -thok 'out' and -khət 'up' are suffixed to roots which begin with /h/ or an aspirated consonant. DASP also applies in compounds where the second

stem has L tone: thus in (5d,e and f) DASP applies whereas in (5g,h) it does not. Note also the interaction of DASP and the Voicing Assimilation rule (VAR), in examples (5a, c-f): a consonant that is deaspirated by R2 subsequently undergoes R1 (e.g. (5d) phi-khon → phikon → phigon).

(5) root   root + derivational suffix
                        -thok, -khət

(a) thín 'pierce'   thíngət 'pierce upwards'
(b) khik 'sprinkle' khikkət 'sprinkle upwards'
(c) hi   'trim'   hidok   'trim outwards'

(d) phígon   (e) phíbon   (f) thábən
    phí-khon   phí -phon   thá -phən
    cloth-fold   cloth-open   moon-dance
    roll of cloth   towel[4]   moonlight

(g) theythá   (h) thaŋphá
    they -thá   thaŋ -phá
    shift-place   sword-arrest
    to hand down   grab the opponents sword

Since there are no prefixes which contain an aspirated consonant, the question of whether DASP applies with prefixation is irrelevant.

This long distance dissimilation is an effect of the

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[4] When cloth comes off a loom, if the fabric is to be a garment, the beginning and ending parts are sewn together to form a tube. If the fabric is to be utilized otherwise, it is not sewn together.

Obligatory Contour Principle (OCP) which, interpreted along the lines of McCarthy (1988), states that identical elements cannot be adjacent on a single autosegmental tier. DASP, which disallows adjacent aspirated consonants within a word, is motivated by the OCP. Dissimilation is formalized as in R2.

(R2) Deaspiration:

x   ...   x   x

[spread glottis]   ...   [spread glottis]   [low tone]

Consider the level ordering of DASP with regard to VAR and the ordering already established for compounding, suffixation and prefixation. As mentioned above, compounding takes place at L1: thus in the derivation of a form like phígon 'roll of cloth', the stems phí 'cloth' and khon 'roll' are compounded at L1. The input to L2 will be phíkhon. At L2, the rule of DASP will apply to derive the form phíkon which will further undergo the L2 rule of VAR (R1a). In this way phígon will be derived. Forms such as (5g,h), will not undergo DASP since the structural description of the rule is not met.

10.2.3 Lateral Deletion (LDR) and Velar Deletion (VDR)

There are two lexical phonological rules which affect kl clusters. First, kl clusters which are formed through suffixation are reduced to k.

(R3) Lateral Deletion: l → Ø/ k___

The application of Lateral Deletion (LDR), is illustrated in (6a,b): in (6a) the l of the perfect marker -lə and in (6b) the l of the indirect evidential marker -ləm, delete. Another rule then applies whereby intervocalic k is changed to glottal stop ʔ (see the rule of k to Glottal Stop below). Similarly in (6c) the l of the perfect marker -lə deletes and intervocalic k is changed to glottal stop. See section 10.3.2 for further examples and explanation of the k → ʔ rule).

(6a) yóʔəbə	(6b) laʔəmmi	(6c) khóktoʔe
yók -lə -pə	lak -ləm-li	khók-thok-lə -e
rear-perf-nom	come-evd-prog	peel-out -perf-ASRT
rear up	carried here	peeled off

In the second rule, kl clusters which are formed through the suffixation of a First Level derivational verb suffix or the distal marker -lək to a verb stem ending with k, result in the deletion of the lateral.

(R4) Velar Deletion: k → Ø / ___l

This Velar Deletion rule (VDR), is exemplified in (6d,e), where the k of -thok is deleted with the suffixation of the directional marker -lək. After the application of VDR, the Flapping rule applies (so that the underlying l surfaces as r).

(6d)   thorəkpə   (6e)   puthorə?u

        thok-lək   -pə   pu   -thok-lək   -u

        out -distal-inf   carry-out -distal-imp

        came out   carry out!

It is apparent that <u>kl</u> clusters are treated in opposite ways by VDR and LDR. It is equally apparent that the application of these rules is restricted to specific morphological environments. For example in (6f) there are two <u>kl</u> clusters: one formed through the suffixation of the distal marker <u>-lək</u> and the second through the suffixation of participializer <u>-ləgə</u>. VDR applies in the first case and LDR in the second even though the structural description of both rules is met in both cases.

(6f) čóŋthorə?əgə

     čóŋ-thok-lək   -ləgə

     jump-out -distal-after

     having jumped out

Consider the necessary ordering between the rules of LDR and VDR. In the derivation of a form like <u>čóŋthorə?əgə</u> 'jumping out', if LDR is assumed to apply before VDR the incorrect form given in (6g) is derived. If the VDR is assumed to apply before LDR the incorrect form given in (6h) is derived.

(6g) /čóŋ -thok -lək-lə/   Lateral Deletion applies
      *[čóŋ-thok-ək -ə]   environment for Velar
                           Deletion no longer available

(6h) /čóŋ -thok-lək-lə/   Velar Deletion applies
      *[čóŋ-tho -lə -lə]   environment   for   Lateral
                           Deletion no longer available

Thus the mere ordering of LDR before VDR or the ordering of VDR before LDR will not derive the correct result. However, both rules do apply to the form. Thus, the formalism used to characterize the application of these rules must be able to insure that VDR applies with the affixation of -lək but is 'turned off' with the affixation of -lə. Furthermore, LDR must not be allowed to apply until after the affixation of -lək and the application of VDR. This can be accomplished in LPM by pairing the application of VDR with the suffixation of -lək and the application of LDR with all other suffixation. This is illustrated in (7):

(7a)   L1   suffixation of -lək, -thok, etc   VDR
       L2   suffixation of -lə, -li, -ləm, etc   LDR

As a natural consequence of LPM, VDR is prevented from applying on the forms with the suffixes that are affixed at L2 and LDR is prevented from applying on the forms created at L1 since it only operative at L2. A derivation illustrating the application of LDR and VDR following this level ordering is given in (7b) for the word čóŋthorə?əgə 'having jumped'. A morphemic analysis of this word was given in (6f).

(7b) L1   čóŋ-thok-lək-   Velar Deletion applies
            čóŋtholək-

     L2   čóŋtholək-ləgə   Lateral Deletion applies
            čóŋtholəkə

            further morphology and phonology
            [čóŋthorə ʔəgə]

The level ordering given in (7b) explains the failure of LDR from applying on compounds: since LDR is subject to the SSC it may apply only on derived environments. When a compound with the relevant structural description (a <u>kl</u> sequence) is fed into L2 it will undergo LDR <u>unless</u> the form itself is a specific rule which is properly included in the structural description of LDR. This is indeed the case with the compounds that could, but do not undergo LDR. Thus for a word such as <u>čáklem</u> (from <u>čák</u> 'rice' and <u>lem</u> 'remainder') there is a rule [čáklem] → [čáklem].

Consider the implications of this rule ordering for the interaction of compounding and VDR. Since compounding takes place at L1, compounds constitute derived environments at L1. Thus this rule ordering correctly predicts that VDR can apply on compounds (see examples (7c,d)).

(7c) cárem   (7d) thórakpə

      cák lem   thók -lak -pə

      rice-remainder   happen-come-nom

      left over rice   to emerge[5]

        Note that the application of LDR and VDR is
irrelevant with prefixation: since no prefix ends with k,
the cluster kl never occurs at the prefix-stem boundary.

10.2.4 Total Assimilation of l (TASIM)

        The lateral l assimilates in place and manner of
articulation with a preceding nasal. This rule of Total
Assimilation of l (TASIM), applies when verbal derivational
affixes such as -ləm 'indirect evidence' are suffixed to a
verbal root or stem ending in a nasal. This is illustrated
(8a). Note that the progressive marker -li also undergoes
TASIM. However as, illustrated in (8b-d), TASIM does not
apply on compounds.[6]

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        [5] There is some amount of variability between speakers
about the application of VDR in compounds. Thus both
cáklem for (7c) and thóklakpə for (7d) can be found in the
literature on M compounds. This seems to be a function of
whether a compound is regarded as a phrasal or lexical
compound; the relationship between stems is felt to be more
tightly knit (both in a semantic and structural sense) in
a lexical compounds, thus lexical rules such as VDR apply
on such compounds.

        [6] The tone of neither stem is relevant in the
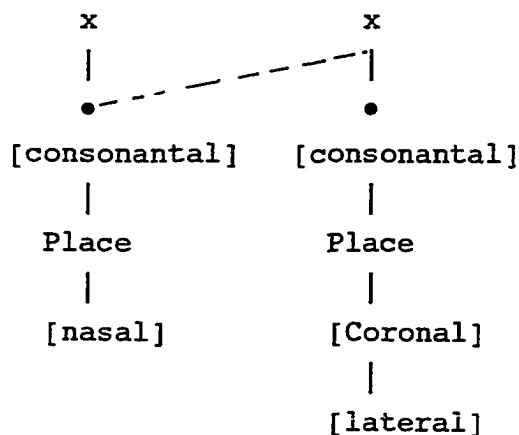application or nonapplication of TASIM.

(8a)	(8b)	(8c)	(8d)
yéŋŋəmmi	khóŋləm	khoŋləm	kəboklåy
yéŋ-ləm-li	khóŋ-ləm	khoŋ-ləm	kəbok-låy
look-evd-prog	leg -path	canal-path	kəbok-flower
looking	footpath	canal	type of flower

Furthermore, TASIM never applies on enclitics. Thus the interrogative marker cannot assimilate to the preceding nasal[7]:

(8e) nuɲthílwayrəmlə   but **nuɲthílwayrəmmə
      nuŋ-thín-way -ləm-lə
      sun-poke-about-evd-INT
      Is it in the daytime?   HM25.34.4

(TASIM) is formalized in R5:

(R5) Total Assimilation:

```
        x                    x
        |      _ _ --- ̄|
        ●- _ _ ̄             ●
   [consonantal]       [consonantal]
        |                    |
     Place                Place
        |                    |
     [nasal]              [Coronal]
                             |
                          [lateral]
```

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[7] It is difficult to further substantiate this point since the only enclitic which begins with l is the interrogative -lə.

Thus the level ordering of TASIM must show that the rule applies with suffixation but not with compounds or post-lexically. These facts can be derived if TASIM applies at L2. Compounds which are fed into L2 will not undergo this rule even when the structural description is met, since the compounds themselves constitute rules that are disjunctively ordered before TASIM. Relevant stem + suffix sequences however will undergo the rule since they constitute derived environments. This ordering also accounts for the fact that TASIM does not apply with enclitics which are suffixed post-lexically.

10.2.5 Summary

In this section I have shown that there are phonological rules in Manipuri which apply in certain morphological environments but fail to apply in others. These facts are summarized in Table 2.

Table 2: A summary of the interaction between the morphology and phonology

Rule	Prefixation	Suffixation	Compounds
VAR	does not apply	applies (tone insignificant)	applies (tone significant)
DASP	not applicable	applies	applies on compounds of the shape stém+stem or stem + stem; suffixation
TASIM	does not apply	applies	applies
LDR	not applicable	applies, except on the directional -lǝk and category 1, 1st level derivational verb markers	does not apply
VDR	not applicable	does not apply, except on the directional -lǝk and category 1, 1st level deriva- tional verb markers	applies

Additionally, it has been seen that certain rules need to be ordered with respect to each other: the Deaspiration

rule must apply before the Voicing
Assimilation rule.

10.3 Automatic Post-lexical rules

As stated in the beginning of this chapter the
application of a post-lexical rule is not restricted to a
particular morphological environment, but takes place
wherever the environment is met. Furthermore, post-lexical
rules are not subject to the SSC. I see the post-lexical
module of M as consisting of two components. First there is
a post lexical component, the input of which is lexical
items on which lexical rules have applied. In this module
phonological rules apply automatically wherever the
necessary phonological envirnoment is available. This
postlexical component serves as the input for a component
where fast speech phonological rules are implemented.

10.3.1 Dipthongization and Gemination

As noted in section 2.3, syllables in M must have an
onset. Thus there are no vowel initial roots in M; in this
position vowels are preceded by a glottal stop. There are
two phonological rules which serve to uphold this
restriction on syllable structure. Syllables without
onsets arise when roots are concatenated by suffixes
beginning with vowel. Such examples are given in (9),
where the root ú 'see' and čá 'eat' are suffixed by the
nonhypothetical suffix -i and the imperative marker -u,
respectively. Note that in both cases the final vowel
becomes a diphthong.

(9a) ú 'see' + -í 'nonhypothetical' → úy 'sees'

(9b) čá 'eat' + -u 'imperative' → čáw 'eat'

Similarly, a diphthong is created when suffixation takes place to a verb stem ending in a vowel as in (9c,d):

(9c) pherəy   (9d) pherúy

      phə -lə -í   phə -lu -í

      good-prox-nhyp   good-tdir-nhyp

      has been good here   has been good there

Since there are six vowels in M, potentially 36 VV sequences can occur. The result of such combinations is given in Table 3. The columns for ə and a are marked as NA (not attested), since there are no suffixes which begin with either ə or a.

Table 3: Possible Vowel Sequences in Manipuri

	i	e	ə	a	o	u
i	i	iye	NA	NA	iyo	iyu
e	eyi	e	NA	NA	eyo	eyu
ə	əy	əy	NA	NA	əw	əw
a	ay	ay	NA	NA	aw	aw
o	oy	oʔe	NA	NA	o	ow
u	uy	uʔe	NA	NA	uʔo	u

As indicated by the underlined segments in the chart, identical short vowels which are juxtaposed through

affixation, coalesce. This is formalized in R6.

(R6) Like Vowel Coalescence:

$$x \qquad\qquad\qquad x$$

[vocalic]   [vocalic]
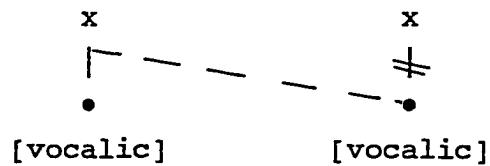
As indicated by Table 3, vowel sequences where the first vowel is [-round] and the second is [+high] result in a diphthong. This is also true for sequences of [+back, -round] vowels (i.e. ə and a) and [-high] vowels (i.e. o and e). I suggest that these latter sequences (əo, ao, əe, and ae) undergo a vowel heightening rule whereby the second vowel is raised (o → u and e → i). I am assuming that [+high] is the default specification and will be filled in later.

(R7) Vowel heightening: x   x
                           | .
                           | .
                        [-round] [+high]
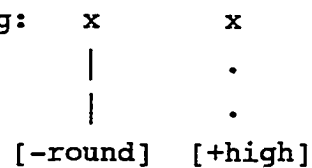
Thus əo, ao, əe, and ae would be əu, au, əi and ai. This rule would feed the Diphthongization rule formalized in R8.

(R8) Diphthongization: V   x

                             | ⌐ˏ
                             | | ˏ
   [round]   [+high] [+consonantal]
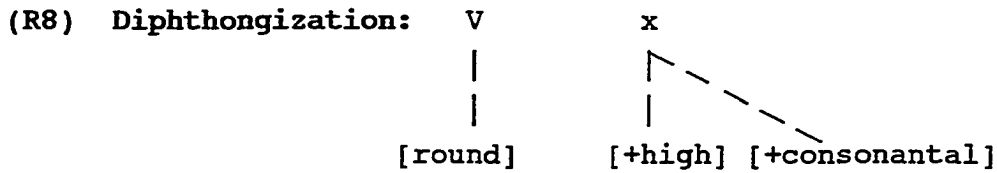
In those cases where R8 does not apply, the vowel
sequence may be broken up through

(i)   the insertion of a glide when the first vowel is
       front and high.   For example, pí 'give' + -u
       'imperative' results in píyu 'Give!'.

(ii)   the insertion of a glottal stop when the first vowel
       is back.   For example, pu 'carry' + -o 'solicitive'
       results in pu?o 'Won't you carry?!'

The processes of Glide Insertion and Glottal stop insertion
are formalized in (R9).

(R9) Glide/Glottal Stop Insertion:

    V   _C   V
    | _ _ ˊ
    ●ˊ

[vocalic]

    |

    ●

Place

    |
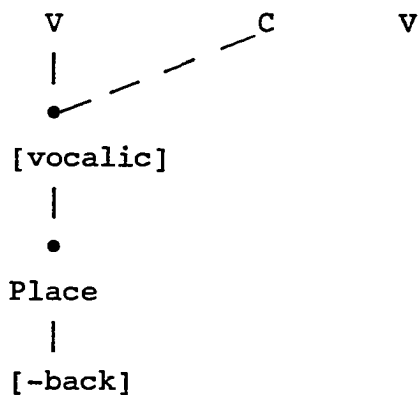
[-back]

R9 spreads the features of the place node of the vowel to

the empty C slot only if the vowel is [-back]. If the
vowel is not [-back], there are no place features to spread
and the consonant, which lacks specification for place,
surfaces as ʔ.

Syllables without onsets also arise when stems ending
in consonants are concatenated by vowel initial suffixes.
In such cases the final consonant is geminated through the
Gemination rule.

(R10) Gemination: x   __ __x   x
                      |__ __ __ __ |
                      [consonantal]   [vocalic]
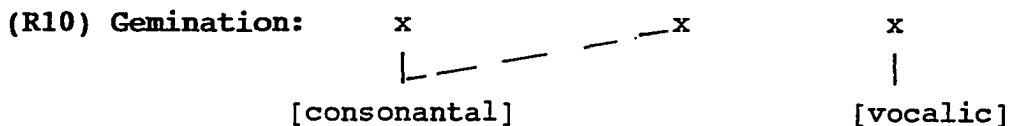
The application of R10 is illustrated in (10), with
the suffixation of the nonhypothetical suffix -i (10a-d);
the experiential suffix -e (10e); and the imperative marker
-u (10f,g)). Note that there are no examples of Gemination
applying with prefixation since there are no prefixes which
end with consonants.

(10) (a) čel   'run'   čelli   'runs'
     (b) kə́p   'cry'   kə́ppi   'cries'
     (c) čəŋ   'enter' čəŋŋi   'enters'
     (d) lə́y   'be'   lə́yyi   'is'
     (e) thə́m 'keep'   thə́mme   'keeps'
     (f) thə́m 'keep'   thə́mmu   'keep!'
   (g) yéŋ   'look'   yéŋŋu   'look!'

10.3.2 k to Glottal Stop

The voiceless velar stop k becomes a glottal stop in intervocalic position. For instance, in (11a) when the nonhypothetical suffix -i is suffixed to the distal marker -lək , in (11b) when the imperative marker -u is suffixed to the stem pithək, and (11c) when assertive suffix -e is suffixed to the verb thək, k appears as a glottal stop.

(11a)	(11b)	(11c)
hállə?í	píthə?u	thə́?e
hál -lək -í	pí -thə́k -u	thə́k -e
return-distal-nhyp	give-drink-imp	drink-asrt
returns	give to drink	drank

k to glottal stop can be characterized as a case of debuccalization (McCarthy 1988:88): a consonant loses its place of articulation, it has no articulation above the glottis and only the open glottis gesture is retained. This process is formalized in R11:

(R11) k →glottal stop: [vocalic] [consonantal] [vocalic]

●

丰

Place

●

|

[dorsal]
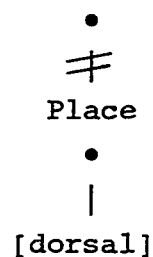
10.3.3 Flapping (FLAP)

In intervocalic position, the lateral l becomes a flap r. Recall that the two sounds are identical except that l is lateral. FLAP applies in all morphological environments. This is illustrated in examples (12a) with prefixation of the first person possessive i-, with suffixation of the assertive suffix -e in (12b), and in the compounds in (12c-f) where it can be seen that the tone of the either stem in the compound is not relevant in the application of this rule.

(12)

(a)	laybak	'land'	(b)	čáre		
	iraybak	'my mother land'		čá -lə	-e	
				eat-perf-ASRT		
				has eaten		

(c)	(d)	(e)	(f)
sárə̃m	wáron	layron	kharə̃m
sá -ləm	wá -lon	lay -lon	kha-lə̃m
body-path	word-language	land-embroider	south-way
hunt	words	layer of earth	land to south

FLAP is formalized in R12:

(R12) Flapping: V   C   V

                                    ●
                                    |

                          Place node

                                ●
                                |

                        [Coronal]

                                ●
                             ≠

                        [lateral]
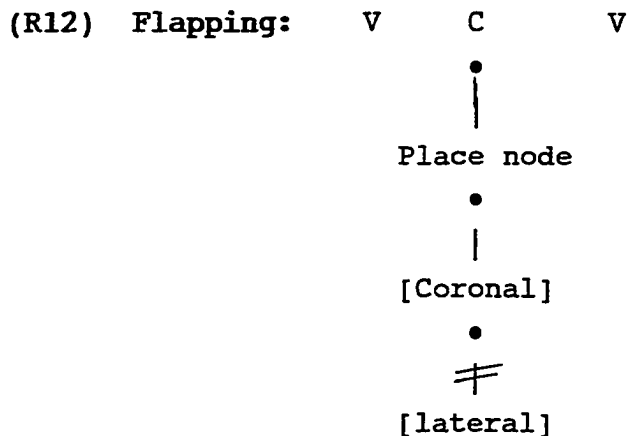
10.4 Rules of fast speech

In this section I describe the phonological rules of fast speech in M. These rules can be distinguished from lexical and other post-lexical rules in that they apply (1) optionally (2) in an unordered fashion and (3) are not lexically conditioned and (4) may apply across or within words.

10.4.1 Deletion of intervocalic consonants

Intervocalic [g] within a word may be deleted; in (13a) the initial g of the suffix -kum 'like' is deleted. Since like vowels coalesce, [ə-du-um-bə] surfaces as [ə-dum-bə]. Example (13b) illustrates a second pattern of the obliteration of word/morpheme boundaries. Here the deletion rule described for (13) applies resulting in a sequence of two non-identical vowels which then become a diphthong. For example in (13d), the g of the morpheme

‐təgi 'ablative' deletes; the resulting sequence əi becomes əy.

(13a) ədumbə   (13b) kədaydəyno
      ə -tu -kum -pə   kəday-təgi-no
      att-ddet-like-nom   where-abl-INQ
      being like that   From where is it?
      HMHH.63a

(13c) əduydo   (13d)   kəydəwbəyno
      ə -tu -ki-tə   kəri-təw-pə -ki -no
      att-ddet-gen-loc   what-do -nom-gen-INQ
      at that   Oh, what is the reason for
      HM14.87.20   that?   əMUK89

The rule is formalized in R13:

(R13) G deletion:
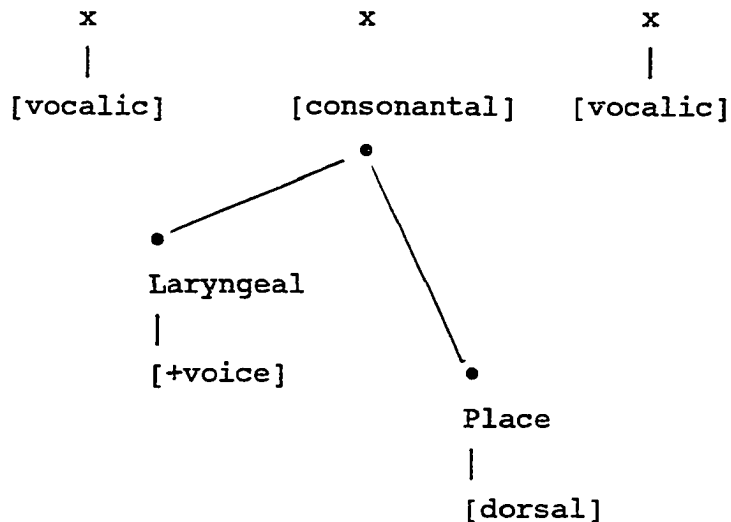
10.4.2 Cluster simplification

Clusters of homorganic alveolar consonants are simplified. For example, the geminate <u>tt</u> in (a) and (b) are reduced to <u>t</u> and in (b) the <u>nn</u> sequence is reduced to <u>n</u>.[8]

(14a) kəy   cə́t?oybə   (14b) nət?e
      kəday cə́t -toy -pə   nə-tə -e
      where agree-intend-nom   be-neg-asrt
      Where are you going?   is not

(14c) nokkən?i
      nok -kən   -ni
      laugh-repeat-COP
      a continuous laugher

The processes at work in (14), are formalized in (R14):

---

[8] When the imperative marker <u>-u</u> is suffixed to a stem ending in <u>t</u>, a <u>tt</u> cluster is formed through the Gemination rule. This cluster dissimilates, not by the deletion of a <u>t</u> but by changing the stop to a liquid: i.e. <u>tt</u> --> <u>tl</u>:

(28a) cə́tlu
      cə́t-u
      go-imp
      Go!

This type of dissimilation is not productive and is restricted to the imperative marker.

(R14) Cluster simplification:

```
    x     x                              x
    |    /                               |
    •  /                                 •
 [consonantal]                      [consonantal]
    |                                    |
  Place              →                 Place
    •                                    •
   / |                                  / |
(nasal) [Coronal]              (nasal) [Coronal]
    |                                    |
[anterior]                         [anterior]
```
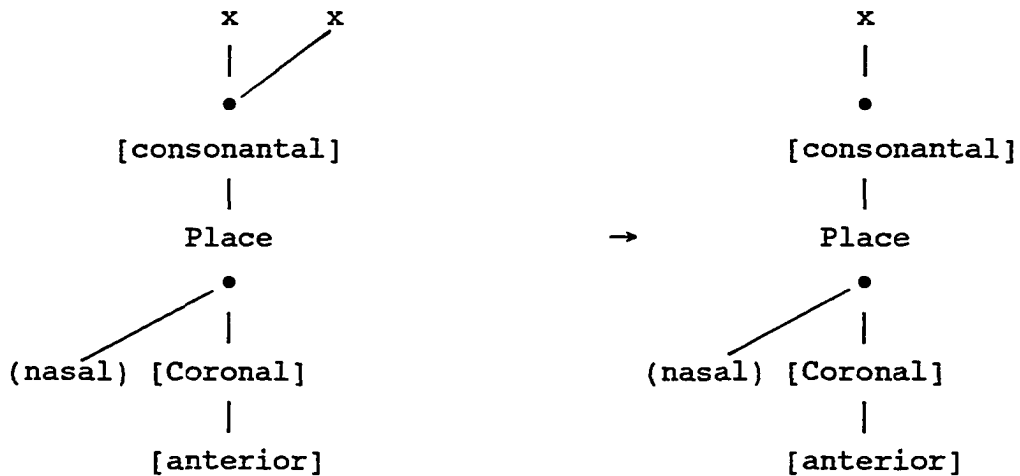
10.4.3 Simplification of rC clusters

Consonant clusters of the form rC are broken up by the insertion of schwa between the two consonants. Thus Mǝnipurdǝ 'at Manipur' may be pronounced as Mǝnipurǝdǝ. This is related to the fact that native M words do not end in liquids: final l surfaces as n; r never occurs word finally as it is derived from underlying intervocalic l. See examples 62-64 in Chapter 7 and also footnote 9 in this chapter, for further examples of this process.

10.4.4 ǝ Deletion

If the onset of a syllable is a liquid or a nasal and the vowel of the preceding syllable is a ǝ, then that ǝ may delete. That is,

(R15) ə Deletion:

ə → Ø/ [-continuant] ___ [noncontinuant sonorant]

This is seen in (15) where Cər and Cr sequences freely vary with each other. ə might delete in Cər sequences where the initial C is of the set given in (15a). The application of this rule is seen in (15b,c).

(15a)	(15b)	(15c)
p, ph, b,	kuntra	čarəbra
t, th, d,	kun-təra	ča -lə -pə -lə
k, kh, g	20 -10	eat-perf-nom-INT
	thirty	Have you eaten? HM25.78.2

Similarly in (15d) and (15e), ə deletes before the nasal.

(15d)	lilmə	(15e)	təwribni
	lin ə -mə		təw-li -pə -ni
	snake att-one		do -prog-nom-COP
	a snake HM24.198.1		is doing RSS49

Although it is most common for ə to be deleted before nasals or liquids, other vowels may also undergo deletion in a similar environment. Thus čə́tkhre 'went already', where khre consists of -khi 'still' and -lə 'perfect'.[9]

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[9] Note also that čə́tkhre may be pronounced as čə́tkhəre. Here, the free variation exhibited by Cər sequences is extended to a form which have not undergone ə deletion.

10.4.5 Alternation of vowels with ə

Vowels may alternate with ə on the surface. This occurs most often in suffixes (see 16a), but may also occur in roots (see 16b).[10]

(16a)   óysənnu   or   óysinnu
          óy-sin-u
          be-in -imp
          may it be   HM11.113d

(16b)   tələb 'salary'   SOYBə7
          tolob 'salary'   RFC1

10.4.6 Final observations on fast speech phenomena

The writing system of M encodes only the lexical rules that have been described here. Thus neither the effects of Flapping or the k to ʔ rule show up in written M. Thus, although in normal conversation and in elicitation situations speakers will implement all lexical and post-lexical rules (perhaps with or without the implementation of the rules of fast speech), the more educated speaker

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[10] Recall that lexicalized stems which act as verbal suffixes exhibit a ə rather than the original vowel of the stem. These are illustrated in section 7.1. I'm assuming that stems which have more recently begun to function as suffixes will exhibit the alternation between ə and the original vowel of the stem whereas stems which have functioned as suffixes for a longer time do not exhibit this alternation.

will be able to provide two variants of a word: forms
where post-lexical rules have applied and the equivalent
forms where these rules have not applied. Children who
have not yet learned to read and write cannot make these
distinctions. Furthermore, according to HM, children often
have to be taught the composition of morphemes that have
been obscured through fast speech phenomena.

10.5 Summary

In Figure 2, I present the level-ordered phonology of
M as argued for in this section:

Figure 2: Level ordering of morphological and phonological rules:

Level	Morphology		Phonology

L1	compounding, suffixation of -thok, -lək	← →	VDR VAR (R1b)
L2	all other suffixation	← →	VAR (R1a), LDR TASIM, DASP
L3	prefixation	←	no rules apply

POST LEXICAL PHONOLOGY

all morphological environments

post-lexical rules:
GEM, k → glottal stop
Vowel heightening, DIP,
Flapping, Glide/ Glottal
stop insertion

Rules of fast speech:
Deletion of g, simplifying consonant
clusters, insertion of ə, ə Deletion,
alternation of vowels with ə

10.6 Comments on the theoretical model used

I am not claiming here that standard LPM is _the_ right theory of how morphological and phonological components interact. The theory of LPM has serious problems as a result of two claims made by the theory which are too strong: (1) the level ordered lexicon reflects the order in which morphemes are concatenated and (2) lexical semantics takes place alongside of word formation. Both these claims predict an absolute isomorphism between phonological, morphological and morphosyntactic structure which has been shown in the literature on "bracketing paradoxes", to not always exist (see for example, Kiparsky (1983); Pesetsky (1985); Sproat (1985), Cohn (1989) and Nespor and Vogel (1986) among others).

This body of literature includes two papers by me on M (Chelliah (1992), (in press)), where I have shown that if a standard LPM model is used to describe the interaction of morphology and phonology as I have done in in this chapter, a mismatch between morphophonological structure and morphosyntactic structure results. In this section, I will show what these mismatches are and provide treatment of them.

A bracketing paradox will occur when noun stems modified by one of the L3 prefixes must additionally take and an L2 case marker. An example of such a paradox is given in (17a) where the Voicing Assimilation rule (VAR (R1a)), applies with the suffixation of the locative marker -tǝ.

(17a) məyúmdə

mə -yúm -tə

3P-house-loc

to his house

As established in section 10.2, Rla and suffixation take place at L2, wheras prefixation is carried out at L3:

(17b) L2 morphology: yúm-tə   L2 phonology: yúmdə
suffixation   VAR

L3 morphology: mə-yúmdə
prefixation

Thus the morphophonological structure of the form is [mə+[yúm+tə]].

However, assuming compositional semantics, the morphosyntactic structure is [[mə+yúm]+tə], where the prefix is affixed to the stem to form 'his house' and the locative suffix has scope over the whole constituent, to give the meaning 'to his house'. Thus the morphophonological structure of the word is at variance with the morphosyntactic structure of the word.

However, I do not reject the basic mechanisms given by LPM for the interleaving of morphology and phonology. Instead I adopt the view that: (1) morphophonology should be carried out along the lines of LPM but (2) the linear ordering of morphemes is accomplished through word formation rules such as the ones listed in Chapter 7, in an independent morphological module and (3) lexical semantics

is carried out in an independent semantic module. Thus the structures generated by the morphophonology may or may not be isomorphic with the structures generated for the same forms in the semantic and morphological modules. A constrained principle of mapping relates the output of each grammatical module. Similar views have been put forward within the theory of Autolexical Syntax in Sadock and Farkas (1989) and formalized in Woodbury (1992)). See also, Marantz (1988) and Sproat (1988) among others for arguments that morphophonology and morphology are distinct components and that word structure should be viewed as being determined through representations in at least these two components.

In the remainder of this section, I will show how the bracketing paradox described above can be represented in the theory of Autolexical Syntax (ALS). In ALS each component of grammar is represented as an autonomous module. Each module is unordered with respect to the other and works on an independent set of principles. The Lexicon is non-modular and contains structural information about the nature of a given constituent in each of the modules. Representations of each module are brought together through an 'interface' grammar, where they are checked for structural similarity. If the representations do not match, the constituent is disallowed.[11] The morphophonological component is organized according to the interaction of morphology and phonology as in the framework

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[11] This basic principle of mapping between two components is complemented by a number of mapping constraints which allow for a limited number of mismatches.

of LPM.[12] Morphology proper exists as an independent module where words are put together in keeping with linear order constraints (in M, for example, this would include the strict ordering of 3LD suffixes in the verb morphology) and a word level syntax (for M, I use phrase structure rules).

Consider how the M facts can be characterized in such a model. First, the lexical entries of affixes specify the level of phonology that they undergo. Note that as roots undergo L1, L2 and L3 phonology, they will be listed as having L1 phonology. A morphological entry will specify whether the affix is a root, prefix or suffix.

(18) (a) Lexical entry for ma- 'third person possessive'
          morphology: prefix
          phonology: Level 3
      (b) Lexical entry for yum 'house'
          morphology: root
          phonology: Level 1
      (c) Lexical entry for -ta 'locative'
          morphology: suffix
          phonology: Level 2

A morphophonological representation of the M word mayumda would be as in (19).

---

[12] Although standard ALS does not have a working definition of the morphophonological component, I am using the chracterization of morphophonology formalized in Woodbury (in press).

(19)

MORPHOLOGY

Post-lexical phonology
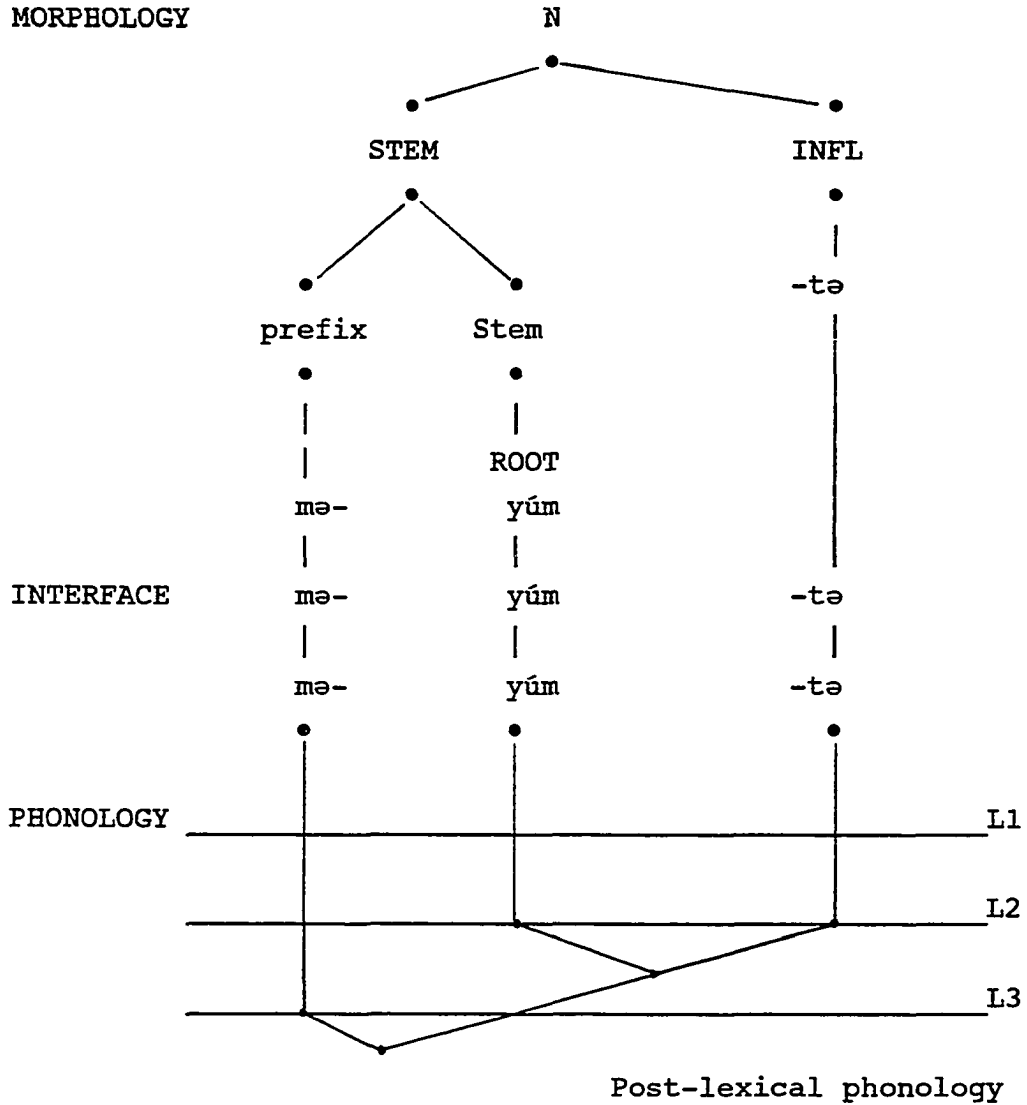
The morphological representation of this word, derived through phrase structure rules, is shown in the top half of the representation. The bottom half of the figure shows the level ordered phonology of M. A set of rules from one

level of the phonology is mapped onto a corresponding morphological environment following the association convention given in (20)

(20)   Associate linearly adjacent affixes of the same level, build tree from one level to the next.

In 17 then, the linearly adjacent L2 affixes and the root are associated to L2 phonology, the prefix to L3 phonology. The tree is then built from L2 to L3.

The representation in (19) does not eliminate the mismatch between morphophonological and morphosyntactic structure; instead, while allowing for such mismatches, the theory succeeds in preserving the level-ordered analysis seen as necessary in accounting for the interaction of morphology and phonology in M.

Chapter 11

11 Functional Issues

This chapter describes the encoding of epistemology and pragmatics in several formal categories which were covered in Chapters 3-7. First, I discuss how the force of direct speech acts can be attenuated through the use of particular lexical or affixal morphology and through indirect speech acts. The conventional guidelines for the use of these speech acts is outlined. Second, I show how various formal categories, especially those described in Chapters 5, 6 and 7, are used to encode the evidential value of a proposition.

11.1 Indirect speech acts and conventional appropriateness guidelines

In chapter 5 I showed how various sentence types are signalled in M and I described what speech acts these sentence types perform. In this chapter I will show how the default mapping between a sentence type and the speech act it conveys, can be utilized (through unconventional mappings), to modify the communicative force of a particular sentence. It will be shown that in many cases it is culturally more appropriate to use an indirect speech act rather than a direct one. In keeping with the theme of culturally appropriate speech, I will also describe particular lexical or affixal items which are used to attenuate the force of a direct speech act.

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11.1.1 Commands and requests

Commands are issued through the use of the imperative marker -u and the prohibitive marker -nu. As will be shown in this section the force of a command issued through an imperative sentence can be attenuated either through use of a particular lexical item, through a verbal affix or through utilizing a nonimperative speech act such as the interrogative, supplicative or exhortative.

11.1.1.1 Attenuation of commands through lexical or affixal items

A command can take the shape of a request through the use of words like canbiduna 'please'; thawjanbiduna 'kindly'; and ningsibiduna 'affectionately' (YS (1987) and Premavati (1988)).

(1a) canbiduna   isiŋ ədu   thákpiyu
     can-pi -tunə   isiŋ ə -tu   thák -pi -u
     let-rec-ing   water att-ddet   drink-rec-imp
     please   water that   please drink
     Please drink the water!   YS270.95a

(1b) thəwjanbidunə .   əynə
      thəw-jan[1]-pi-tunə əy-nə
      duty-let-rec-ing I -CNTR
      kindly   I

      háyjəribəsi   yábiyu
      háy-cə   -li -pəsi   yá   -pi -u
      say-self-prog-dcomp   agree-rec-imp
      that for you are saying please accept
      Kindly accept my request!   YS270.96a

(1c) niŋsibidunə   láyrik əsi
      niŋ -si -pi -tunə   láyrik ə -si
      desire-pdet-rec-ing   book   att-pdet
      please   book   this

      əyŋóndə   píbiro
      əy-ŋón-tə   pí   -pi -lə -o
      I -to -loc   give-rec-INT-SOLCT
      to me   won't you please give
      Please give this book to me!   YS271.97a

The force of a command can also be reduced by placing
an easily attainable upper limit to the task that the
addressee will have to perform in order to fulfill the
conditions of the imperative. This limit is indicated by
use of khərə 'some' as in (2a) or əmuktə 'just once' in
(2b).

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[1] The compound thəwjan is interpreted idiomatically as
'kindness' (Kelchandra: 1964).

(2a)   Tombigi   nábə   khərə héŋbiru
        Tombi-ki ná -pə   khərə héŋ-pi -lu -u
        Tombi-gen sick-nom   some ask-rec-adir-imp
        Tombi's   to be sick some please go and ask
        Please go and inquire about Tomba's illness.

                                        YS273.99b

(2b)   nəhaknə   Tombədə əygi pəysadugi
        nə-hak-nə   Tombə-tə əy-ki pəysa ə -tu -ki
        2P-here-CNTR Tomba-loc I-gen money att-ddet-gen
        you   to Tomba my   of that money

        mərəmdə   əmuktə   niŋsiŋkho
        mə-ləm-tə ə -muk -tə   niŋ -siŋ -khi -o
        nm-way-loc att-once-loc   desire-wise-still-SOLCT
        for that   cause just once inform
        Please (just do this and) inform Tombə about my
        money.   HM25.54.6a

YS notes that when the two adverbs are used in conjunction the task is made to seem still easier.

(2c)
əygi wá   əse   khərə əmuktə   tabiyu
əy-ki wá   ə-si   khərə ə-muk -tə ta   -pi -u
I-gen word att-pdet some att-once-loc listen-rec-imp
my   word this   some at once   please listen
Please listen to me!   YS275.104b

The second way to soften the force of a command is to use suffixes that urge the hearer to do some action: (a) for the sake of the speaker; (b) for the hearer's own sake;

or (c) because the doing of the action is the right thing
to do. The most commonly used of these suffixes is -pi 'V
for someone other than self'[2] as shown in (3a). A second
such morpheme is -čə the reflexive marker which urges the
hearer to perform the relevant action for his/her own sake.
See (3b).

(3a)	(3b)				
thə́kpirənu	thunə	hánləkcəw			
thə́k -pi -lə -nu	thu -nə	hán -lək -cə - u			
drink-rec-pro-prohb	quick -adv	return -dist -self -imp			
Please don't smoke!	quickly	return			
YS284.115a.	'...please	return soon.'	RFC1.28		

(3c) nə́ŋnə   lakpədə   čák čárəkcəw

    nə́ŋ-nə   lak -pə -tə čák čá -lək -cə   -u

    you -CNTR come-nom-loc rice eat-dist-self-imp

    you   when come   food eat

    Eat before you come (or you won't feel good).

                                        HM14.64.24b.2

Finally, the suffix -həw 'inceptive' is used with
imperatives to indicate that it would be beneficial for V
to be performed.

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[2] See section 7.2.4 for further discussion of this
suffix.

(3d)   nə́ŋ əsidə   lə́yhəw

      nə́ŋ ə -si -tə lə́y-həw -u

      you att-pdet-loc be -start-imp

      you here   sleep

      You sleep here (that will be better).   YS225.22b

-həw can also be used with declarative sentences to encode a suggestion.

(3e)

tacəwnə   phə́həwge   kánnəhəwge

ta   -cəw-nə   phə́ -həw -ke   kánnə-həw -ke

brother-big-CNTR   good -start-opt   use -start-opt

by elder brother   to want to be good to want to be useful

Elder brother, you want to be good, you want to make it

useful.   əMUK129

11.1.1.2 Attenuate the force of commands through indirect speech acts

    I will show in this section that speech acts such as the interrogative, supplicative or exhortative can be used to issue a command or request. For example, a suggestion for some course of action may be expressed in a declarative sentence such as (4).

(4) nə́ŋ   məphə́m   ədudə   čə́tpə   phə́y

    nə́ŋ   mə-phə́m   ə -tu -tə   čə́t-pə   phə́ -í

    you   nm-place att-ddet-loc go -nom   good-nhyp

    you   place   that   to go   is good

    You had better give this shirt to Tomba.   YS251.70b

11.1.1.3 Interrogatives used to issue commands

The force of a command can be softened by framing the command indirectly in the form of a question. The most common of these indirect commands is issued through the asking of a question with the solicitive marker -o. As described in Chapter 5, this is a performative marker of asking, best translated as 'I ask you please...'. The use of such questions to issue commands is illustrated in (5). Such forms can be additionally weakened in imperative force with the use of the marker -pi which indicates that an action is done for someone other than the self (5b).

(5a)
phə́mmo
phə́m-lə -o
sit -INT-SOLCT
(Won't you) go ahead
and sit! HM25.136.3

(5b)
oza   oza   leŋbiro
oza   oza   leŋ-pi -lə-o
teacher teacher go -rec-INT-SOLCT
Teacher, teacher, won't you go
ahead and go!   HM14.58.10

These two ways of expressing a command are functionally distinct.[3] An imperative is characterized as being used to issue a command to a stranger or to someone of the same age as the speaker (HM25.90.1). On the other hand, the -o interrogative is used for commands that are issued to younger familiars or between familiars that have an intimate or well-established relationship (husband to

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[3]   This fact contradicts the claim presented in (YS (1984), Devi (1979), NG (1987) among others), that the solicitive marker -o and the imperative marker -u are morphophonemic variants or the same morpheme.

wife, son to mother, student to teacher). The
interrogative is an unacceptable form for a command when
issued by a speaker who is a stranger or a senior to the
hearer (YS 1984:224).

Such conventional appropriateness guidelines can be
utilized creatively by a speaker to negotiate the social
distance he or she would like to place between himself/
herself and the hearer. For example in (5c), the speaker
uses both an -u imperative and an -o interrogative with the
same addressee, establishing first a distant relationship
and then moving to a more intimate one.

(5c)
yéŋbiyune	məkhá	léykaygi		Pebəmgi
yéŋ-pi -u -ne	mə-khá	léy-kay -ki		Pebəm-ki
see-rec-imp-SI	nm-south	be -roost-gen		Pebəm-gen
please look	south	our neighbourhood		family Pebam

Ibotombinə	tawribəse	yéŋbiyo
Ibotombi-nə	taw-li -pəsi	yéŋ-pi -o
Ibotombi-cntr	do -prog-dcomp	see -ben-SOLCT
Ibotombi of	what is doing	please see, will you

'...see what that Ibotombi Pebam from the south side of
our neighbourhood is doing, please look at that. əMUK52

The significance of addressee choice in the use of
imperatives vs. -o interrogatives can also be seen in (5d)
where an imperative is used unconventionally between
familiars. According to YS, this incorrect choice of
imperative type gives the sentence a sarcastic
interpretation.

(5d)   habiyu   habiyu
       ha -pi -u   ha -pi -u
       have-rec-imp have-rec-imp
       Please have it, please have it.   YS288.112a

There are certain situations where such options do not exist. For example when one asks permission to do some V (by expressing a desire to do V), the appropriate way to give permission for this request is to use an -o interrogative.

(5e)   Request: čə́tge   Response: čə́tlo
                čə́t-ke   čə́t-lə -o
                go-opt   go -INT-SOLCT
                I'd like to go.   Why not go!
                                          JB15.55.1

When opposing imperatives to -o interrogatives in issuing commands, native speakers will often note (e.g. HM25.52) that the former are used to issue commands on a single occasion whereas the latter is used for habitually issued commands. Clearly, this impression that imperative marking conveys some aspectual notion is related to the fact that a familiar is seen on regular basis (hence the command to the familiar may be made on a regular basis), whereas a command to a stranger or commands to equals who are not well-known to the speaker are made only on occasion.

Two other types of interrogatives can be used as indirect commands. The first asks whether the addressee wants to perform a required action:

(5f) phúrit əsi   . Tombadə   pígera
      phúrit ə -si   Tomba-tə pí -ke háy-pə -lə
      shirt att-pdet Tomba-loc give-opt say-nom-INT
      shirt this   to Tomba do you want to give
      Will you give this shirt to Tomba? (Lit: Do you say
      you want to give...)   YS250.69a

This may also take the form of a tag question which acts as
a more polite imperative:

(5g) nə́ŋ isə́y ədu   sə́ku   sə́kkera
      nə́ŋ isə́y ə -tu   sə́k-u   sə́k -ke háy-pə-lə
      you song   att-ddet   sing-imp sing-opt say-nom-INT
      you song   that   sing   do you want to sing
      Sing that song, will you?   YS261.82a

     The second type of question, asks what the intent of
the addressee is, in regard to the action that needs to be
performed:

(5h) fíjol   əmə   honŋgədra
      phí   -con   ə -mə   hoŋ   -kə -tə -lə
      cloth-weave   att-one change-pot-nes-INT
      dress   one   will you change
      Will you (kindly) change into another dress?
                                                YS279.110b

The third type of question, suggests the best alternative
to follow:

(5i)

phíjol	əmə	hoŋbənə	phə́gədra
phí -con	ə -mə	hoŋ -pə -nə	phə́ -kə -tə -lə
cloth-long	att-one	change -nom-adv	good-pot-nes-INT
dress	one	from changing will	it be good

Wouldn't it be better to change into another dress?

11.1.1.4 Expressing commands through the optative

The optative, which is used to express the desire of the speaker, can be used to signal a request for permission to perform some action. A polite and therefore appropriate way of asking those one must show respect to for permission to perform some V is to use the optative marker in conjunction with the marker -čə 'V for the sake of self' as in (6a,b):

(6a)	əy	apəl	čáge	(6b)	čə́tčəge
	I	apəl	čá -ke		íšt-čə -ke
	I	apple	eat-opt		go -self-opt
	I intend/wish to eat				May I go (Lit:
	this apple. (May I				I wish for myself to go).
	eat this apple).				HM11.136c

A less idiomatic, but still acceptable way of asking for permission is to make the optative clause a subordinate clause:

(6c) əy ucéksi   pháge   yágədra
     əy ucek-si   phá -ke   yá   -kə -tə -lə
     I bird-pdet   catch-opt   agree-pot-nes-INT
     I this bird   want to catch will you agree
     May I catch this bird? (Lit: I intend to catch this
     bird, do you agree?)   HM25.87.2

To summarize, a speaker must determine how to issue a
command on the basis of how polite the speaker desires to
be (or is forced to be by convention) and who the addressee
is in relationship to the speaker.

11.1.1.5 Expressing commands through supplicatives

A supplicative, which is used to urge the listener
join in some action with the speaker, can also be utilized
to create a polite request. Recall that noninterrogative
supplicatives usually have a 1st person plural actor. When
a speaker uses a supplicative to issue a command, he or she
is implying that, instead of the hearer being directed to
perform some action, both the speaker and hearer will be
performing the action. This indirect method of issuing a
request helps the hearer save face since he/she does not
have to follow a command but is invited to participate in
an action. The request is made extremely polite (YS281) by
suggesting that the invitation is issued by the hearer;
this is accomplished by making the entire proposition a
question.

(7) fíjol   əmə   hoŋkhisira
    phí -con ə -mə hoŋ -khi -si háy-pə -lə
    cloth-long att-one change-still-sup say-nom-INT
    dress   one   will you change
    Would you kindly change into another dress? (lit:
    You suggest we change into another dress?

<div align="right">YS281.112c</div>

11.1.2 Issuing warnings through exhortatives

In the default case, warnings and admonishments are
issued through imperative or prohibitive constructions. It
is also possible to issue a warning using an exhortative.
In these cases although the speaker knows that the state to
be attained is an undesirable one, he/she feigns
indifference as to whether or not the state is attained (NG
1987:84). Examples such as (8a,b) can be used as a kind of
warning, translating roughly into English, "Just let V
happen, see if I care". Note the negative form of the
exhortative which is made by suffixing the negative
morpheme -tə to the verb as in (8b):

(8a) sásənu   (8b) má pádəsənu
      sá -sənu   má pá -tə-sənu
      hot-exhort   he read-neg-exhort
      Let him suffer from   he don't let him read
      the heat!   Don't let him read!
      NG84.7   Devi257.3

11.1.3 Indirect ways of persuading

Exhortations which are usually indicated through verbal inflection can also be expressed through the derivational verb marker, -hən 'causative'. For example, in (9a) someone (2nd person) can be urged to allow another to perform an action, when the causative marker -hən is used in conjunction with the imperative -u. The person being allowed to perform the action may be the speaker (9a) or some third party (9b).

(9a)   (9b)
əybu   thə́bək ədu   təwhəllu   phə́mhəngənu
əy-pu   thə́bək ə -tu   təw-həl -u   phə́m-hən -kə -nu
I -pat work   att-ddet do -caus-imp   sit -caus-pot-prohb
I   work   that   cause to do   Don't let him sit!
Let me do the work. (Lit: Cause me   HM25.93.4
to do the work.)   YS239.52a

11.1.4 Ways of issuing a blessing or curse

Blessings can be expressed through imperative and exhortative sentences. For example, -o and -u imperatives can be used with stative verbs where the resulting imperative construction functions either as a blessing or a curse. (Example in (10) are repeated from Chapter 5.)

(10a)	(10b)	(10c)
pátlu	khəllo	núŋŋayyu
pát -u	khəl-o	núŋ-ŋay -u
ulcer-imp	wise-SOLCT	in -like-imp
May you suffer	I wish you to be	Be happy!
scabies![4] NG83.1	from wise! NG81.7	YS239.50c

Similarly, when the exhortative marker is used with stative verbs, the speaker is urging the actor to allow the state referred to in the verb to be attained. Thus, exhortatives are used to issue blessings:

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[4] The actual gloss provided by NG is, 'You be suffered from scabies!'

(10d)   má nÚŋŋaysənu

        má núŋ-ŋay -sənu

        he in -like-exhort

        he let be happy

        May he be happy! (Lit.Let him be happy!)

                                     MD256.1

(10e)   ishornə   néŋbu   thəwjan píbə   óysənnu

        ishor-nə néŋ-pu   thəw-čán pí -pə óy-sənu

        god -CNTR you-pat duty-let give-nom be-exhort

        god   you   kindness to give let it be

        May god bless you!   HM11.113d

11.1.5   Indirect ways of asking questions

In Chapter 6, I described the interrogative morphology and question words which signal interrogative sentences. This section is a discussion of other ways that questions can be posed, such as the use of attitude markers to elicit information, raise a question and pose a rhetorical question. I will also describe how indirect questions are posed through sentence types other than the interrogative.

Questions can be posed through lexical items. For example, the interjection -ha 'please repeat that' is used to elicit information by asking for a repetition of what has just been said:

(11)

(a) Rajan:	(b) RSS:	(c) Rajan:		
ŋəsi	ha	ŋəsi	púŋ	baro
ŋə -si	ha	ŋə-si	púŋ	baro
day-pdet	intj	day-pdet	time	12[H]
this day	what's that	this day	hour	at 12
Today.	What's that?	Today at	twelve o'clock.	

<div align="right">RSS70-72</div>

See also section 7.4.1 for a discussion of the enclitic -ye 'confirmative' which can also be used to solicit information.

The quotative háybə is also used to solicit information. This is illustrated in example (12) where the speaker (the character Son) asks a participant in the conversation to restate in clearer terms what he/she has just implied: namely that the police have arrived to arrest Nimay. With this use of the quotative, the speaker indicates a certain amount of skepticism or uncertainty about the questioned proposition.

(12) Son: Nimay phábə   lakibə

               Nimay phá   -pə lak -li   háy-pə[5]

               Nimay arrest -inf come-prog say-nom

               Nimay to arrest   coming

               You mean to say, they've come to arrest

               him?   əMUK92

A clause marked by the optative can be used as an indirect question. For example, the intentions of someone other than the speaker can be questioned.

(13a)

təwkhibəge   háybədu   əy khəŋŋí

təw-khi -pə háy-ke háy-pədu əy khəŋ-í

do -still-nom say-opt say-dcomp I know -nhyp

wanting to do   that   I know

I know what you intended to do.   HM24.88.4

---

[5]   As discussed in section 7.5, the quotative is especially suceptible to being distorted by fast speech: the verb and the quotative form a single phonological unit so that the quotative might surface as a glide as in (i) or be deleted enitrely as in (ii).

(i) V háybə   →   [V-aybə]

(ii) V háybə   →   [V-pə]

```
(13b)
nəhaknə       məkhoypu      kədəwŋəy   phúgədəbəge
nə-hak-nə     mə-khoy-pu    kədəwŋəy   phú -kə -tə -pə -ke
2P-here-CNTR  nm-hpl -pat    when      beat-pot-nes-nom-opt
you           they           when      intend to punish
When do you intend to punish them?                      Pt36.10
```

11.2 Evidentiality

Evidentiality, which is an indication about the source of information in a proposition (Bybee 1985:184), is encoded in many formal categories in M. As noted by Willett (1988: 51), "there are only a few languages in the world where evidentiality is represented by a separate grammatical category; rather its meaning is usually coded as part of the modal system of a language with overlap into certain areas of tense and aspect." As will be shown in this section, this "overlap" is considerable in M: evidential values are signalled through a number of formal devices such as the verb morphology (in particular a derivational evidential marker, aspect and directional markers); the class of enciltics called attitude markers; the complementation system (such as the choice of nominalizer or complmentizing quotative); and the type of question construction used. In this chapter I will describe how evidential values are indicated through these formal subsystems of M grammar.

11.2.1 Evidentiality in the complementation system

In Chapter 6 I described how a clause in M can be subordinated through nominalization and the creation of complement clauses. As was shown in that chapter, there are several functional choices that a speaker can make about the particular nominalizing or complement constructing device to use in a given utterance. One of the factors that need to be taken into consideration in that decision is the evidential value placed on the subordinated proposition. In this section I will show how particular nominalizers and complementizers, in particular quotatives, convey distinct evidential values.

11.2.1.1 Lexical nominalizers

As in described in Chapter 6, a phrase or clause may be nominalized by a nominalizing stem. The most common of these lexical nominalizers is jat 'type' (borrowed from the Hindi jat 'caste'). When a verb is suffixed with jat, the speaker indicates that he/she infers that the action or state described in the verb has occurred or come into being on the basis of some indirect evidence: because direct evidence is not available, the speaker is ambivalent about the exact nature of Ving. For example in (14a) the speaker sees that some object is battered and from this draws the most probable conclusion: someone has had a hand in bringing this current condition into being.

```
(14a) məsi      phûrəbəjatni
      mə-si     phú -lə  -pə -jat -ni
      nm-pdet   beat-perf-nom-type-COP
      this      is a type of having been beaten
      It looks like it might have beaten.        HM11.118a.
```

Similarly in (14b), the speaker professes to have at first been unaware about the writing of the letter in question; however, the speaker has now become aware of it (through someone else's report of the letter to him).

```
(14b)
mədəy                 əy əhə́nnə        məŋondə       Johndə
mə -tu  -təgi         əy ə -hə́n  -nə   mə-ŋon-tə     John-tə
nm-ddet-abl           I  att-first-cntr 3P-to  -loc  John-loc
then                  I  old man        to him        to John


cithi  irəmjatne           əyse          PG.D
cithi  i  -ləm-jat -ne     əy-si         PG.D.
letter write-seq-type-SI   I -pdet       PG.D.
letter wrote               for my        PG.D.
Then, it seems that the old man wrote a letter to Binwal
for my Ph.D. under his supervision.                    RSS194
```

The nominalizer jat may also be used with the interrogative marker -lə to indicate that it would be contrary to the speaker's expectation if the proposition in the nominalized phrase described an actuality. If the proposition has already come into being, the speaker expresses surprise at this occurrence.

(14c)

má	ŋəraŋ	skul	čə́tjatlə/	čə́tpəjatlə
má	ŋəraŋ	skul	čə́t-jat -lə	čə́t-pə -jat -lə
he	yesterday	school	go -type-INT	go -nom-type-INT
he	yesterday	school	did he go	

Could it be that he went to school, yesterday?!

HM18.56.1

11.2.1.2 Subordinate vs. main predication

Where a sentence has only one predication, a speaker can make a functionally determined choice between nominalizing the sentence and using the copula -ni as the main predication or using a verb with regular finite inflection as the main predication. Compare for example (15a) and (15b) where a nominalized clause is made into a copulative sentence and (15c) which has a finite verb.

(15a)

əynə	phî	ədu	lə́ŋtho?ə́bəni
əy-nə	phî	ə -tu	lə́ŋ -thok-lə́bə -ni
I -CNTR	cloth	att-ddet	throw-out -having-COP
I	that cloth		have thrown out

(It is that) I have thrown out that cloth.   JB25.171.1

(15b)

 má ŋəyhak   tummákpəni

má ŋəy -hak   tum -lək -pə -ni

he during-here sleep-dist-nom-COP

he up to now   was sleeping

(I could swear that) up to now he was here

sleeping.   HM11.134b

(15c)

əynə   phî   ədu   láŋthokhre

əy-nə phî ə -tu   láŋ-thok-khi -lə -e

I-CNTR cloth att-ddet throw-out-still-perf-asrt

I   cloth that   threw out

I did throw out that cloth.   JB25.170.4

    These sentences are functionally distinct: with use
of the copulative sentence the speaker indicates knowledge
about the truth of the proposition. Although the finite
clause constitutes an assertion, it does not imply the
truth of the proposition with the same force as (15a) and
(15b).

11.2.1.3 The distribution of the complementizers

The distribution of the four complementizers, háyba, háybasi, háybadu, háyna, can be determined by taking three factors into consideration. First, it is necessary to ascertain how much evidence the actor of the main clause or the speaker has for the proposition expressed in the complement and what degree of certainty there is about the proposition expressed in the complement. It is also necessary to take the tense of the main clause and whether the complement refers to a state or activity into consideration. Each COMP is used with some unique combination of these three values.

11.2.1.3.1 háybasi

The QCOMP háybasi occurs with complements that indicate a state as seen in (16a) (repeated from Chapter 6).

```
(16a)    məhaknə        thoyre
         mə-hak-nə      thoy -lə  -e
         3P-here-CNTR   first-perf-asrt
         she            had won

         háybəsi   Tombinə   khəŋ̃í
         háy-pəsi  Tombi-nə  khəŋ-í
         say-dcomp Tombi-CNTR know -nhyp
         this      Tombi     knew
         Tombi knew that she had won.
```

If the state refers to a future time then the use of

this QCOMP indicates that the proposition in the complement will certainly come into being. See for example (16b), where the speaker conveys his/her certainty about the outcome of the elections.

(16b) votsi   mánə   kákhigədra
      vot-si   má-nə   ká -khi -kə -tə -lə
      vote-pdet he-CNTR gain-still-pot-nes-INT
      this vote he   will win

      háybəsi   əy kí
      háy-pəsi   əy kí -í
      say-dcomp   I fear-nhyp
      that   I fear
      I am afraid (because) he is certain to be winner of
      the elections.   HM24.184.3a

11.2.1.3.2 háynə

háybəsi can be opposed to háynə. háynə can also be used to refer to a state as seen in (17a):

(17a)

cuti	mənuŋdə	Dilidə	čə́tpəse	əphə́bə
cuti	mə-nuŋ-tə	Dili -tə	čə́t-pəsi	ə -phə́-pə
holiday	nm-in -loc	Delhi-loc	go-dcomp	att-good-nom
holiday	during	to Delhi	that going	good

wákhəlni	háynə	Tombənə	yárəmmí
wá -khən -ni	háy-nə	Tomba-nə	yá -ləm-í
word-think-COP	say-adv	Tomba-CNTR	agree-evd-nhyp
idea is	that	Tomba	agrees

Tomba thinks that it is a good idea to go to Delhi for the holidays.

If the state refers to a future time, the use of this QCOMP indicates that the proposition in the complement might come into being, but the speaker or the actor of the main clause has no evidence to show that it certainly will. This is illustrated in example (17b):

(17b)	ŋóŋ	cugəni	háynə	əynə	thəzə́y	
	ŋóŋ	cu -kə -ni	háy-nə	əy-nə	thəzə -í	
	rain	fall-pot-COP	say-adv	I -CNTR	believe-nhyp	
	rain	will fall	that	I	believe	
	I believe that it will rain.				HM24.171.1	

In (16b), where háybəsi is used, there is a certainty about the outcome of the elections, but, as shown in (17c), when háynə is used, the speaker can only guess about the outcome of the elections.

(17c) votsi   mánə   kákhigədra

   vot -si   má-nə   ká   -khi   -kə -tə -lə
   vote-pdet he-CNTR rise-still-pot-nes-INT
   this vote he   will win

   háynə   əy kî
   háy-nə   əy kî -î
   say-adv I fear-nhyp
   that   I fear
   I am afraid that he (might just) be the winner of
   the elections.   HM24.184.3a,b

For this reason **háynə** can be found to occur with
predicates that present the attitude of the actor of the
main clause or the speaker towards the subordinated
proposition (e.g. verbs such as 'believe, think, and
doubt'). Moreover, **háynə** is never used with verbs of
knowledge or acquisition of knowledge: (e.g. verbs such as
'know, or discover').

This explains a further fact about the distribution of
háynə: it is the QCOMP that is used with verbs of saying
where the speaker reports the words of someone else but
cannot be sure of their truth value.

(18a) Tombənə   Tombi čə́tkhre

       Tombə-nə   Tombi čə́t-khi -lə   -e

       Tombə-CNTR Tombi go -still-perf-asrt

       Tomba   Tombi went

       háynə/*háybəsi háyrəmmí

       háy-nə   háy-ləm-í

       say-adv   say-evd-nhyp

       that   said

       Tomba said (to me, the speaker) that Tombi left.

                                   HM24.152.4

(18b)

Tombəbu   həyeŋ   phúgəni   háynə/*háybəsi háy

Tomba-pu   həyeŋ   phú -kə -ni háy-nə   háy-í

Tomba-pat tomorrow beat-pot-COP say-adv   say-nhyp

Tomba   tomorrow will beat   that   said

It is said that Tomba will be beaten tomorrow. HM24.176.6

     As seen in (18a) and (18b), háybəsi cannot be the QCOMP used here since háybəsi may only be used where the speaker is sure that the proposition will come to pass. Since (18a,b) are a report of hearsay, only háynə may be used.

11.2.1.3.3 háybə

The QCOMP háybə may refer to a present state:

(19a) Raninə   Tombidə   láyrik píbəsi
      Rani-nə   Tombi-tə   láyrik pí -pəsi
      Rani-CNTR   Tombi-loc book   give-dcomp
      Rani   Tombi   book   that giving

      Jonnə   phátte   háybə/*háynə khəŋní
      Jon -nə   phá -tə -e   háy-pə   khəŋ-í
      John-CNTR good-neg-asrt say-nom   think-nhyp
      John   is not good   that   think
      John knows that it is not good that Rani gave the
      book to Tombi.   HM24.147.3

The use of the QCOMP háybə indicates that the speaker has some evidence (not necessarily visual) about the truth of the proposition expressed in the complement. For this reason, the use of háybə is restricted to complement taking predicates such as 'know' and 'see'; háybə never occurs with propositional attitude predicates such as 'believe' and 'think'. Note that the QCOMP háynə cannot be used in (19a), since it can only occur with propositional attitude predicates.

háybə may also be used to head a complement that refers to a past or current activity as in (19b):

(19b)

```
əy má thóŋ  mərumdə            lótli    háybə   əy khəŋŋí
əy má thóŋ  mə-lum    -tə      lót -li  háy-pə  əy khəŋ-í
I  he door  nm-behind -loc     hide-prog say-nom I know-nhyp
I  he door  behind it          hiding    that    I know
I know that he is hiding behind the door.      HM24.181.7
```

or an imminent activity as in (19c).

```
(19c)  əy čák  čágəni         háybə      má khəŋŋí
       əy čák  čá -kə -ni     háy -pə    má khəŋ-í
       I  rice eat-pot-COP    that-nom   he know-nhyp
       I  cak  will eat       that       he knows
       He knows that I will eat.              MD171-204
```

11.2.1.3.4 The nominalizer

The COMP based on the nominalizer -pə, INFCOMP, may be used to head a complement that describes a state or an activity. Use of the INFCOMP with present or current activity or state indicates that the actor of the main clause or the speaker have some knowledge supporting the truth of the proposition presented in the complement.

For example in (20a), the speaker is sure of the truth of the proposition because of having visual or other perceptual evidence.

(20a)

manə	ləybaktə	pukhəm	thə́mbə	úy
ma-nə	ləy -pak -tə	pu -khəm	thə́m -pə	ú -î
he-CNTR	land-broad-loc	carry-obstruct	place-nom	see-nhyp
he	on the floor	plate	placing	see
(I) see him placing the plates on the floor.				MD171-204

Since the use of INFCOMP reflects that the speaker has some evidence to support the proposition expressed in the complement, INFCOMP is never found with predicates such as 'believe' or 'think'.

Complements headed by -pə may also refer to a habitual activity as seen in (20b):

(20b)
mâ	ten	káppə	hə́y	
mâ	ten	káp-pə	hə́y	-î
he	arrow	shoot-nom	proficient-nhyp	
he	arrow	shooting	is proficient	
He knows how to shoot an arrow.				MD171-204

or a known fact:

(20c)
səngóm	thə́kpə	phə́y
sən-khóm	thə́k -pə	phə́ -î
cow-udder	drink-nom	good-nhyp
milk	to drink	good
To drink milk is good.		HM24.42.2

The INFCOMP may also head complements which refer to an imminent activity or a future state. Thus, desiderative verbs (verbs such as 'want, hope, and wish') may take such

complements. Of course, in these cases the speaker cannot be sure if the state or activity stated in the complement will come to pass; the speaker or actor of the sentence, simply expresses a desire that it will be so.

Note that if the DETCOMP -pəsi is used instead, the meaning obtained is entirely different.

(20d) Ramnə   Tombibu   thoybə   pámde
      Ram-nə   Tombi-pu   thoy -pə   pám -tə -e
      Ram-CNTR Tombi-pat   first-nom   like-neg-asrt
      Ram   Tombi   to win   does not want
      Ram doesn't want Tombi to win.   HM24.156.7

(20e) Ramnə   Tombibu   thoybəsi   pámde
      Ram-nə   Tombi -pu thoy -pəsi   pám -tə -e
      Ram-CNTR Tombi-pat   first-dcomp   like-neg-asrt
      Ram   Tombi   this winning does not want
      That Ram will defeat Tombi is (something) that he
      doesn't like.   HM24.156.8

If INCOMP is used a desired state is being referred to and the emphasis is on the desire and the currency of the desire. When DETCOMP is used a future state and a certainty that it will come into being is implied.

11.2.1.3.5 háybədu

The QCOMP háybədu is used to refer to activities or states of which the speaker has first-hand evidence. When this COMP heads a complement that refers to a past event, the speaker is an eyewitness to that event.

(20f)

əhəlduna		yén	huranbə	háybədu	úy
ə	-həl-tu -nə	yén	huran-pə	háy-pədu	ú -ì
att-old-ddet-CNTR		chicken	steal-nom	say-dcomp	see-nhyp
that old man		chicken	stealing	that	saw

I saw that stealing of the chicken by the old man.

HM24.195.2

Thus when háybədu is used the hearer can assume that the speaker has irrefutable facts to support the truth of the subordinated proposition. The speaker may use this default truth value indicated by háybədu to convince the hearer of a particular forecast for the future. The use of háybədu with a future event is meant to convince the hearer that the speaker has an adequate amount of facts to make such a forecast. This use of háybədu with the future is limited to cases where it is clear to the speaker that his/her interlocutors may not agree with this assessment of future events and the speaker must make an extra effort to convince his/her interlocutors of the forecast being made. Example (20g) illustrates this point: the speaker is trying to convince his skeptical family that a book he would like to publish will have a market.

(20g) láyriktugi   məgun   yéɲniɲɳəkpə
      láyrik-tu -ki mə-kun   yéɳ-niɳ -lək -pə
      book   -ddet-gen nm-quality   see-wish-dist-nom
      of the book   quality   wishing to see

      háybədu   məsáɳə   tabəne
      háy-pədu   mə -sá -nə   ta -pə -ne
      say-dcomp   3P-body-recip   fall-nom-SI
      that   by itself   fall

At that desire to see the quality, the students will
automatically want to see the book.   əMUK28

So, with the use of h_áybədu, for both past and future
states and events, the speaker is providing some indication
of the extent of evidence he/she has for the proposition in
the complement.

Since with the use of h_áybədu the speaker is
indicating a degree of knowledge about the subordinated
proposition that the hearer is not privy to, h_áybədu cannot
be used with present tense where the speaker and hearer
have access to the same event. This point is illustrated
in (20h). Where the tense of the main verb is past perfect
(k_awthoklə_mmi), the complement gets a past reading. When
the act of waiting in the complement is past, as dictated
by the tense of the main verb, the complementizer used may
be h_áybədu. Opposed to this, when the main verb is in the
progressive aspect, as in k_awtho?i where the action in the
complement, i.e. Tombi's waiting, is interpreted as a
current activity, h_áybədu cannot be used.

(20h) Tombənə   Tombinə   mábu   ŋayhəwri
      Tomba-nə   Tombi-nə   má-pu   ŋay -həw -li
      Tomba-CNTR Tombi-CNTR he-pat wait-start-prog
      Tomba   Tombi   for him begun waiting

      háybədu   kawthokləmmí   /*kəwtho?i
      háy-pədu   kaw -thok-ləm-í   kəw -thok-li
      say-dcomp forget-out -evd-nhyp forget-out -prog
      that   forgot
      Tomba forgot that Tombi had been waiting for him.
                                    HM24.107.8a,b

11.2.1.3.6 DETCOMPs

DETCOMPs are used when the proposition in the complement is an undisputed fact in the discourse.
-pəsi is used if the event described in the complement takes place in the immediate past, is to take place in the immediate future or describes a permanent condition.

(21a)
Tombəbu   kásidəgi   čəthənkhibəsi   əynəni
Tombə-pu ká -si -təgi čət-hən -khi -pəsi əy-nə -ni
Tomba-pat room-pdet-abl go -caus-still-dcomp I -CNTR-COP
Tomba   from this room that caused to go   it is I
I am the one that caused Tomba to leave the room (we are now sitting in the room, and Tomba has recently left.
                            HM24.188.4d

If the event described takes place in the remote past or describes a single occurrence of an event, then -pədu is used:

(21b)

Tombəbu	kádudəgi			čə́thənkhibədu				əynəni	
Tomba-pu	ká	-tu	-təgi	čə́t-hən	-khi	-pədu	əy-nə	-ni
Tomba-pat	room-ddet-abl			go -caus-still-dcomp			I -CNTR-COP	
Tomba	from the room			that caused to go			it is I	

I am the one that caused Tomba to leave the room.

<div align="right">HM24.188.4d</div>

(21c)

ŋəraŋ	isiŋ		takhibədu			əynə	khəŋŋí	
ŋəraŋ	i	-siŋ	ta -khi	-pədu	əy-nə	khəŋ-í	
today	water-pl		fall-still-dcomp			I -CNTR	know -nhyp
today	water that		that would fall			I	know

I knew that the water would be turned on today HM24.158.2a

Since a complement headed by a DETCOMP suggests that the proposition described is an undisputed fact, DETCOMPs do not occur with predicates that express potentially unrealized states or events (verbs such as 'think and believe'), or predicates that indicate an uncertainty of outcome (verbs such as 'wants to, would like it if'). Thus, when -pəsi is used with a complement that refers to an unrealized state, the sentence is not felicitous.

(21d)

??nupidunə				ŋádu	phábəsi	pámmí	
nu	-pi	-tu	-nə	ŋá -tu	phá -pəsi	pám -í
person-female-ddet-CNTR				fish-ddet	catch-dcomp	like-nhyp
that woman				that fish	that catching	wants

The woman wants to catch fish. HM24.170.7

11.2.1.3.7 Indicating distance from source

In Chapter 6, I described possible word orders available in complex sentences. It was noted that only one quotative complementizer (QCOMP) is possible per sentence except with verbs of saying and reporting where more than one QCOMP can be used. In these cases each additional COMP indicates that the speaker is one additional step removed from the actual reporting of some event. This is illustrated in example (22a).

(22a)

Tombənə	Tombi	čə́tkhre		hávrəmmí
Tombə-nə	Tombi	čə́t-khi -lə	-e	háy-ləm-í
Tomba-CNTR	Tombi	go-still-perf-asrt		say-evd-nhyp
Tomba	Tombi	has gone		has said
Tomba said that Tombi has gone.				HM176.5

Here, Tomba is reported as stating that Tombi has gone. The speaker provides no evidence for the validity of Tomba's statement and no COMP occurs in such a case.

If Tomba actually sees Tombi leaving and then reports the fact of Tombi's departure to the speaker, the speaker, in reporting Tomba's statement, uses the QCOMP háynə:

(22b)

Tombənə	Tombi	čə́tkhre		háynə	hávrəmmí
Tombə-nə	Tombi	čə́t-khi	-lə -e	háy-nə	háy-ləm-í
Tomba-CNTR	Tombi	go-still-perf-asrt		say-adv	say-evd-nhyp
Tomba	Tombi	went		that	has said
Tomba said that Tombi went.					

This is in keeping with the earlier description of háynə as occurring only with complements for which the speaker has no direct perceptual evidence. The speaker hasn't seen Tombi leave but only heard about the departure from someone else.

If the reporting is removed a further step from the source of the original report, one more level of embedding is added. For example, in (22c) Tomba sees Tombi leave, reports this fact to X, and X in turn, reports this fact to Y who is the current speaker.

(22c) Tombənə   Tombi čə́tkhre
      Tombə-nə   Tombi čə́t-khi -lə   -e
      Tomba-CNTR Tombi go-still-perf-asrt
      Tomba   Tombi went

      háynə   háyrəmmí   háyye
      háy-nə   háy-ləm-í   háy-ye
      say-adv say-evd-nhyp say-CONFM
      that   said   I was told
      I was told that Tomba said that Tombi left. HM.p.c.

There are certain types of discourse where the speaker presents his/her audience with a number of propositions that he/she wants the audience to accept as fact. Political campaign speeches, are a sample this type of discourse. In such discourse, a speaker can accomplish the goal of convincing his/her audience of the validity of his/her statements by providing an authority, other than the self, for those statements. This is accomplished in

the political campaign speech from which I have presented an example in (23). In this speech, the speaker repeatedly uses the pragmatically biased form of subordination (with QUOT) instead of a pragmatically neutral form of subordination (without QUOT). For example, in (23) below, the speaker uses the QUOT for subordination (<u>V háybə kansidə</u>) instead of the possible form <u>V-pə kansidə</u>.

(23)

khomme	háyrəkandə	čə́tluri
khom -lə -e	háy-lə -kan -tə	čə́t-lu -li
collect-perf-asrt	say-perf-time-dat	go -adir-prog
collected	at that time	went

'... when they (were said to have) collected, they went...'   Elect16

If the speaker had used the pragmatically neutral form of subordination, the burden of proof for the statement would fall on the speaker. By using the QUOT for subordination, the speaker distances the self from the statements made and indicates that a real life source exists for the statements, thereby lending credibility to what the speaker is saying.

Thus, the ultimate pragmatic function of the QUOT is determined on the basis of the type of discourse it is used in. On the one hand, in personal interactions or in traditional narratives, the speaker narrator can use the QUOT to distance the self from a statement to show that the truth of the statement is questionable. In discourses that are meant to persuade and convince, the speaker can use the QUOT to distance the self from a statement and, without any

hint of self-aggrandizement, work to convince the hearer/audience of the validity of that statement.

11.2.1.3.8 Summary and Conclusion

In M then, choice of COMP is a formal representation of the meanings obtained from the superimposition of tense and evidentiality. The relevant distinctions for tense were shown to be past, present and future. The relevant evidential distinctions for states or events were seen to be: generally known, asserted (known but nature of evidence not explicit), eyewitness, inference, guess/belief and hearsay. The facts presented about this intersection of tense and evidentiality are presented in Table 1. In the table, the fact that a particular COMP cannot occur with one of the tenses is indicated by NA (for not attested), this is followed in parentheses, with information about which COMP is used with that tense and the evidential value signalled by the COMP in question.

Table 1: Complementizers

Quotative	Tense	Meaning/Use
háybədu	past	eyewitness
	present	NA (for present eyewitness <u>V-pə</u>)
	future	claim for sufficient evidence to infer future event/state
háybəsi	past	NA (for past asserted (eye-witness or generally know, <u>V-pədu</u> or <u>háybədu</u>)
	present	asserted to be true
	future	asserted will be true
háynə	past	NA (AUX verb construction <u>V-pə málle</u> where <u>málle</u> is the auxiliary verb 'seems')
	present	NA (AUX verb construction <u>V-pə málle</u> where <u>málle</u> is the auxiliary verb 'seems')
	future	guess/belief /hearsay
háybə	past	NA (AUX verb construction <u>V-pə</u> <u>málle</u> where <u>málle</u> is the auxiliary verb 'seems')
	present	inferential
	future	NA (for future inferential, <u>háybədu</u> or <u>háynə</u>)
V-pəsi	past	NA (for generally know past, <u>V-pədu</u>)
	present	generally known, existent state
	future	generally known

V-pədu   past   generally known, one instance of
                      action

             present   NA (for generally know present,
                      <u>V-pəsi</u>)

             future   NA (for generally know future,
                      <u>V-pəsi</u>)

V-pə   past   NA (for eyewitness past, háybədu)

             present   eyewitness, habitual, generic

             future   desire

11.2.2 Inflectional verb morphology

Particular markers in both verb inflection and derivation have evidential value. In the inflectional morphology, as noted in Chapter 5, declarative sentences formed through the suffixation of the nonhypothetical marker indicate a mild assertion whereas those formed through the suffixation of an assertive marker indicate a strong assertion. The strong assertion is possible because the speaker has a strong belief in the truth of the proposition being expressed. Please see section 5.1 for examples and further discussion. Inflectional aspect can also assign evidential value to a proposition. For example, the aspect in questions can indicate what previous knowledge a speaker has about the topic being questioned. For instance in (24a), the speaker has no inkling whether or not the actor of the sentence does or does not chew betel-nut. However, with the use of the perfect marker in (24b) the speaker implies that he/she knows that Tomba does indulge in the habit of chewing betel-nut; the question is whether Tomba has done so recently.

(24a)			(24b)
məhak	kwa	čábra	čárəbra
mə-hak	kwa	čá -pə -lə	čá -lə -pə -lə
he-here	betel nut	eat-nom-INT	eat-perf-nom-INT
he	betel nut	does he eat	Has (he) already eaten
Does he chew betel-nut?			betel-nut? HM18.48.5
HM18.48.5			

11.2.3 Derivational verb morphology

With the use of certain verb derivational markers the speaker can place an evidential value on a proposition. For example, BN (1986b) notes that there is an implication with the use of the inceptive marker -həw that the speaker is a witness to the initiation of an action.[6] If the action is to take place in the future, the speaker has access to evidence that allows an accurate prediction for what is to occur in the future.

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[6] This explains the analysis of -həw being a marker of co-occurrence by BN (1986:4.15), in that the speaker is present at the same time as the occurrence of V.

(i) čáhəwwi

čá -həw -li

eat-start-prog

He began eating (while I was there).   BN4.15.3

```
(25a) turen pahəwwi
      tulen pa     -həw  -i
      river overflow-start-nhyp
      river began to overflow
      The river was overflowing (when I was
      there).                                    BN4.29.4
```

```
(25b) məhak      yólhəwgəni
      mə-hak     yól -həw  -kə -ni
      3P-here    sell-start-pot-COP
      he         will start to sell
      (Under the circumstances I'm sure that) he will
      sell it.                                   BN4.29.7
```

Similarly, in (25c) where -həw is used the speaker
indicates that he/she knows that Tomba has arrived at the
place in question.   In (25d) however, the speaker has no
prior information about whether Tomba has come or not.

```
(25c) həwjik Tombə lakləmbədu      úhəwbra
      həwjik Tombə lak -ləm-pədu   ú  -həw  -pə -lə
      now    Tomba come-evd-dcomp  see-start-nom-INT
      now    Tomba that coming     have seen
      Did you just see Tomba around here?' (Lit:  Have you
      begun to see that coming of Tomba's just now?)
                                                 HM25.125.1a
```

```
(25d)  néŋ Tombə lakpə    úbra
       néŋ Tombə lak -pə  ú  -pə -lə
       you Tomba come-nom see-nom-INT
       you Tomba to come  have you seen
       Have you seen Tomba?                    HM25.125.1c
```

Another verb derivational marker which has evidential value is the prospective marker -lə. The use of this marker implies that the speaker can see or has knowledge of the culminating point of the action. Thus, in the future tense, it indicates that the speaker is aware (through some unspecified type of evidence) that the actor will be carrying out the action referred to in the verb. For example in (26a) the speaker bases the statement on knowledge of a specific plan of action.

```
(26a)  numit tarəbədi         mí lóynə
       numit ta -lə -pə -ti    mí lóy-nə
       day   fall-pro-nom-DLMT man all-adv
       day   it is going to fall man all


       tumnərəgəni
       tum -nə    -lə -kə -ni
       sleep-recip-pro-pot-COP
       will be going to sleep
       When the sun sets we will all be going to
       sleep.                                   HM12.73
```

For the same reason in questions such as (26b) the speaker expects for the actor to be engaged in Ving.

(26b) nə́ŋ yúm   čə́tlədra
      nə́ŋ yúm   čə́t-lə -tə -lə
      you house go -pro-nes-INT
      you house should you not be going
      Aren't you on your way home yet?   Prb.Q90

Similarly when used with the prohibitive marker, the use of -lə indicates that the speaker knows of some plan that the actor is going to carry out and asks that this plan not be implemented. For this reason when the prohibitive is used with -lə the translation obtained is 'don't V after all.'

(26c)   čə́tlənu   (26d) háythokurənu
        čə́t-lə -nu   háy-thok-lu -lə -nu
        go -pro-probh   say-out -adir-pro-probh
        Don't go after all.   Don't go telling out
               Prb106   my secret (after all).
                                                 HM18.44.5

Finally, the primary purpose of indirect evidence marker -ləm is to indicate the evidential value of a proposition. A detailed discussion of this marker, along with examples, is given in section 7.1.2.7.

11.2.4 Asking questions

When asking a question, the speaker can indicate what answer he/she expects to elicit. For example, when the interrogative marker is suffixed to a noun (as in (27a)), it acts like a tag marker: the speaker holds a belief that the proposition in the question is true and asks for

confirmation of that belief. However, when suffixed to a
verb or a nominalized verb (as in (27b), the interrogative
marker acts to elicit information.

```
(27a)                              (27b)
həyeŋ     čutila                    sémdokəbro
həyeŋ     čuti    -lə               sém     -thok-lə  -pə -lə  -o
tomorrow  holiday-INT               correct-out -perf-nom-INT -SOLCT
tomorow   is it a holiday           Did they complete the
Tomorrow  a holiday?                corrections?
HM14.61.18b                         RSS175
```

11.2.5 Conclusion

    In this section I have shown how the category
evidentiality is encoded in various formal categories of M
grammar.   Table 2 provides a summary of types of evidence
indicated and examples of formal marking that encodes these
values.

Table 2: Summary of evidential values grammatically indicated in M.

Type of evidence	Meaning	Examples of formal marking
direct	eyewitness to an event	QCOMP hǎybə)
indirect	assuming validity of proposition based on 2nd or 3rd hand evidence	QCOMPs used with verb of saying
indirect	knowledge found in oral history, culturally shared knowledge	nominalizer -pə
inferable	knowledge gained through observable evidence or intuition	nominalizer -jat; derivational marker -ləm

Three general comments can be made about the evidential system in M. First, there exist a relatively basic set of evidential distinctions; for example, direct evidence may be seen, heard or felt; a specification of how a situation is perceived is not reflected in the evidential marking. Second, there is not a exclusive mapping between formal evidential marking and evidential values signaled: thus, indirect evidence can be indicated through a nominalizer or through a verb derivational marker. Finally, evidentiality, perhaps because is not centered in one formal part of M grammar, is not recognized by native

speakers as a relevant grammatical category in the language. However, by virtue of the fact that choices in encoding propositions are made every time a subordinate clause is generated (i.e. a particular COMP or nominalizing strategy is chosen), it is clear that the evidential value of certain grammatical categories is part of grammatical competence of M speakers.

Appendix

I. List of Abbreviations

<u>Gloss</u>	<u>Meaning</u>	<u>Morpheme</u>
abl	ablative	-təgi
adir	action away from place of speech	-lu
adv	adverb	-nə
ADVR	adversative	-pu
after	after V-ing	-ləgə
agn	agentive	-nə
ALSO	also	-su
APX	approximately	-lom
ass	associative	-kə
ASRT	assertive	-e
att	attributive	ə-
AUG	augmentative	-ləp
break	effect with pressure	-thek
by	as a consequence of Ving	-ténə
caus	causative	-hən
CNTR	contrastive	-nə
CONFM	confirmative	-ye
COP	copula	-ni
CTE	contrary to expectation	--tə
cut	totally effect	-khay
dcomp	determiner complementizer	-pədu/pəsi
ddet	distance determiner	-tu
def	definite	-pu
distal	distal	-lək
DLMT	delimitative	-ti
down	V downward	-thə

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during	during V	-ŋəydə
each	each	-mək
evd	indirect evidence	-ləm
EX	exclusive	-tə́
EXASP	exasperative	-hé
excess	V to excess	-mən
exhort	exhortative	-sənu
fem	feminine	-pi
gen	genitive	-ki
gpl	generic plural	-cing
having	having Ved	-ləbə
here	participant present	-hak
hpl	human plural	-khoy
in	V inwards	-sin
in order to	for Ving	-nə́bə
imp	imperative	-u
ing	V-ing	-tűnə
INQ	inquisitive	-no
inst	instrumental	-nə
INT	interrogative	-lə
intend	intention	-toy
JUST	just	-ngək
kill	effect with undue pressure	-hət
like	similar to	-kum
loc	locative	-tə
mas	masculine	-pá
mult	multiplicatives	-lək
neg	negative	-tə
nes	must, necessary	-tə
nhyp	nonhypothetical	-í
npot	non-potential	-loy
oblg	obligation, probability	-təw

ONLY	only	-mək
opt	optative	-ke
out	V outward	-thok
pat	patient	-pu
pdet	proximate determiner	-si
perf	perfect	-lə
pl	plural	-khəy
pot	potential	-kə
precise	precisely	-təmək
pro	prospective	-lə
probh	prohibitive	-nu
prog	progressive	-li
prox	proximal	-lə
pull	partially effect	-thət
rec	action done for sake of others	-pi
recip	reciprocal	-nə
repeat	V repeatedly	-kən
self	action done for sake of self	-cə
SI	shared information	-ne
SOLCT	solicitive	-o
start	inceptive	-həw
still	still	-khi
sup	supplicative	-si
to	towards N	-ŋon
together	comitative	-min
TAG	invariant tag	-ko
up	V upward	-khət
UPTO	upto, to the extent of	-khək
wish	wish to V	-niŋ
1P	first person	i-
2P	second person	nə-
3P	third person	mə-

Category labels

N	noun
NP	noun phrase
VP	verb phrase
AP	adverbial phrase
V	verb
intj	interjection

II. A sample text

The following text, narrated by Takhelhambam Geetarani, is a humorous piece. It relates a series of embarrassing exchanges between a brother-in-law and sister-in-law. The joke has two sides to it. First, the sister-in-law, Ibetombi, through a series of rash acts (attributable to her relative youth), mistakes her brother-in-law for her husband and talks to him. This case of mistaken identity is comical since there is strict taboo against brother and sister-in-law communicating and because Ibetombi requests the man she thinks is her husband to skimp on funds due to the family. The reader should keep in mind that Ibetombi lives in a joint-family where all incoming funds are placed in a common pool. The eldest male child in the family, in this case Ibetombi's brother-in-law, is in charge of that common fund. The man that Ibetombi thinks is her husband is really that brother-in-law.

Title

soybə

soy   -pə

mistake-nom

A mistake (title of story).

Sentence 1

Meitei	məca		mərəktədi		
Meitei	mə	-ca	mə	-lək	-tə -ti
Meitei	nm	-small	nm	-around	-loc-DLMT
Meitei	small		among them		

mətəygə   mənawnupigə

mətəy-kə   mə-naw -nu   -pi -kə

b-in-law-ass   nm-small-person -fem-ass

with brother in law   with the younger sister-in-law

yámnə   kinə   lə́ynə́y

yám -nə   ki -nə   lə́y -nə -í

very-adv   fear-adv   be -adv-nhyp

a lot   fearing   with each other

Among the Methei people the sister-in-law and the
brother-in-law lived with many restrictions between each
other in their interactions.

Sentence 2

wá   ŋáŋnəbədi   láyrədə́nə

wá   ŋáŋ   -nə -pə -ti   láy -lə   -tə́nə

word speak -rec-nom-DLMT be   -perf -by

word at speaking with   by that happening

mətəy   úbədə   məkók

mətəy   ú -pə -tə   mə-kók

b-in-law   see-nom-loc   3P-head

brother in law   upon seeing   her head

khumdrəbədi   sirəbə   kandə

khum-tə   -lə   -pə -ti   si -lə -pə   kan -tə

cover-neg -perf -nom-DLMT die -pro-nom time-loc

head not being covered   when dying   time

```
məy    cákte      háynəy                                    544
məy    cák -te    háy-nə  -í
fire   burn-neg   say-adv -nhyp
fire   not burn   it is said
```

If the sister-in law does not have her head covered when her brother-in-law sees her it is said that when she dies she will not burn during cremation, this being so, how could she speak (with him).

Sentence 3

```
mənaw          nupinə              pukhridə
mə  -naw       nu   -pi -nə        pukhri-tə
nm  -small     person-fem-CNTR     pond   -loc
sister-in-law                      in a pond
```

```
iraknərəgə                mətəynə           únə        únə
i      -lak  -nə -ləgə    mətəy  -nə        ú  -nə     ú  -nə
water  -come -adv-after   b-in-law-CNTR     look-adv   look-adv
when drowning             brother-in-law    looking upon
```

```
upay    lə́ytənə        yéŋdúnə
upay    lə́y -tə -nə    yéŋ-túnə
upay    be  -neg-adv   look-ing
means   not having     looking
```

```
léy    háynəribəni
léy    háy -nə    -li    -pə -ni
be     so  -adv   -prog  -nom-COP
be     so it is being said
```

It is said that while the sister-in-law is drowning with
only the brother-in-law to see it, there would be no means
for her to be saved (since he could not touch her).

Sentence 4
```
Ibetombi   laysáriŋəydə
Ibetombi   lay   -sá   -li   -ŋəy    -tə
Ibetombi   earth -body -prog -during -loc
Ibetombi   while being a virgin
```

```
məmitməná              thə́kpəgi
mə   -mit  -mə -ná      thə́k  -pə -ki
nm   -eye  -nm-ear      drink-nom-gen
drinking it in with the eyes and ears
```

```
mərəmdə              məphə́mdə          phawrə?í
mə   -ləm  -tə        mə-phə́m -tə        phaw-lək  -í
nm   -way  -loc       3P-place-loc       fame-dist -nhyp
that way              at her home        being famous
```

Ibetombi was famous for being feisty while she was a maiden
at her father's house.

Sentence 5

nupá	məyúmdəsu	hayphet
nu -pá	mə-yúm -tə -su	hayphet
person-male	3P-house-loc-ALSO	extreme
husband	at his house too	extremely

məmíŋ	cə́tle		
mə-míŋ	cə́t -lə	-e	
3P-name	go -perf	-asrt	
her name	was current		

At her husband's house too, she was extremely famous for this.

Sentence 6

ədubu	thəwdók	khudiŋdəgi
ə -tu -pu	thəw -thók	khudiŋ -təgi
att -ddet -ADVR	deed -out	every -abl
but	event	compared to all

mətəygi	thəwdóktúnə	
mətəy-ki	thəw -thók -túnə	
b-in-law	deed -out -ing	
of brother-in-law	happenings	

helli	phawbə	
helli	phaw háy-pə	
more	famous say-nom	
more	say is more famous	

But compared to all the other incidents the most famous one is the one between her brother-in-law and her.

Sentence 7

nóŋmə	əyukta			cák
nóŋ-mə	ə	-yuk	-tə	cák
day-one	att	-early	-loc	food
one day	at an early hour			food

thoŋliŋəydə				Ibetombinə
thoŋ	-li	-ŋəy	-tə	Ibetombi-nə
cook	-porg	-during	-loc	Ibetombi-CNTR
during cooking				Ibetombi

khə́ŋniŋ		niŋsiŋləʔí		mági
khə́ŋ	-niŋ	niŋsiŋ-lək	-í	má -ki
startle-wish		wish -dist-nhyp		she -gen
suddenly remembered				her

nupági		tələb	phə́ŋbə
nu	-pá -ki	tələb	phə́ŋ-pə
person-mas-gen		salary	get -nom
her husband's		salary	getting

numit	ŋəsini
numit	ŋəsi-ni
day	day-COP
day	is today

One day, early in the morning, while she was cooking, Ibetombi suddenly remembered that this was the day when her husband was getting his salary.

Sentence 8

```
cákkhumdəgi        prəp  prəp
cák-khum-təgi      prəp  prəp
food-cover-abl     prəp  prəp
from the kitchen   quickly
```

```
thókləkləgə            məŋonda
thók-lək  -ləgə        mə-ŋon  -tə
out -dist -after       nm-to    -loc
coming out             to the front room
```

```
phə́mlibə           nipáudə              háyrúy
phə́m  -li  -pə      ni    -pá -tu -tə    háy-lu  -í
place -prog -nom    person-mas-ddet-loc  say-adir-nhyp
the one sitting     to that man          came and said
```

```
horel       tələb     phə́ŋləgə
horel       tələb     phə́ŋ-ləgə
horel       tələb     find-after
later today salary    after getting
```

```
itəy-khoygi                              pəysa
itəy-khoy-ki                             pəysa
of my brother-in-law and his family money
to our brother-in-law                    money
```

```
siŋdriŋəydə                  əygi
siŋ  -tə -li  -ŋəy    -tə    əy-ki
return-nes-prog -during-loc  I -gen
upon rendering               for me
```

```
phídu           hánnə       ləyhəwdoyniko
phí     -tu     hán   -nə   ləy-həw   -toy    -ni -ko
cloth -ddet     first -adv  buy-start -intend -COP-TAG
that cloth      first       first intend to buy, O.K.?
```

Coming out quickly from the kitchen she said to the man
sitting in the front room, "Later on today, when you
receive your pay, before you contribute your share to your
brother-in-law and company, (let me have some money), I
would like to buy some cloth for myself, O.K.?'

Sentence 9

```
məsi     háyrəgə       mənaktə         phémlúy
mə-si    háy-rəgə      mə-nak   -tə     phém-lu   -í
nm-pdet  say-after     nm-next -loc     sat -adir -nhyp
this     having said   near to          sat down
```

Having said this she sat down nearby.

Sentence 10

```
ədubu            yéŋlubədədi
ə     -tu   -pu   yéŋ -lu   -pə -tə -ti
att -ddet -ADVR   look-adir -nom-loc-DLMT
but               upon looking
```

```
mági        nupá         óyrəmdre
má   -ki    nu     -pá    óy-ləm-tə -lə    -e
her -gen    person-male  be-evd-neg-perf -asrt
her         husband       did not seem to be
```

```
mətəydu              óyrəmme
mətəy    -tu         óy-ləm-lə    -e
b-in-law-ddet        be-evd-perf -asrt
that brother-in-law was not
```

But when she looked, it wasn't her husband, it was her
brother-in-law.

Sentence 11

```
mədudə               ikaymənkhidúnə
mə-tu    -tə         ikay  -mən      -khi  -túnə
nm-ddet -loc         shame -excess-still -ing
that                 becoming exceedingly embarrassed
```

```
məhaknə      məniŋthóŋlomdə           thóklə?í
mə-hak   -nə mə-niŋ  -thóŋ-lom -tə    thók-lək-í
3P-here-CNTR nm-back -door -APX-loc   out-distal-nhyp
she          at the back door         came out
```

Becoming very embarrassed by this, she went out through the
back door.

Sentence 12

```
məsidə               ikaydénə
mə-si    -tə         ikay-ténə
nm-pdet -loc         shame-by
at that              being ashamed
```

```
məniŋthóŋdə              thókləkpə
mə-niŋ -thóŋ -tə         thók-lək  -pə
nm-back -door -loc       out -distal-nom
at the back door         coming out
```

```
mətəydudə            əmuk           théŋnərure
mətəy   -tu   -tə   ə   -muk       théŋnə-lu   -lə   -e
b-in-law-ddet -loc  att -once      meet  -adir -perf-asrt
brother-in-law      once again     met
```

Because of this incident, the brother-in-law (too) felt embarrassed and he also came out the back door and they met again!

Sentence 13

```
khéŋboy              kəriboy        mági
khéŋ    -poy         kəri-poy       má   -ki
startle -wander      what-wander    she  -gen
a little bit startled               her
```

```
nupáni               khəndúnə
nu      -pá   -ni    khən   -túnə
person-male -COP     think  -ing
her husband is       thinking
```

```
əydi     ínthokpə           thəbək əmə
əy-ti    ín  -thok  -pə     thəbək ə-mə
I -DLMT  sick-out   -nom    thəbək att-one
I        error              a job
```

```
təwrure              itəydə
təw-lu  -lə   -e      itəy              -tə
did-adir-perf -asrt   brother-in-law-loc
have done and come here   to our bother-in-law
```

```
néŋni      háydúnə   tələb   niŋrure
néŋ-ni     háy-tűnə   tələb   niŋ   -lu -lə -e
you-COP    say-ing    salary  desire-adir-pot-asrt
is you     thus       salary  will desire


háynə      háyrə?í
háy-nə     háy-lək   -í
say-adv    say-distal-nhyp
that       said
```

Suddenly she saw a man and she is surprised, again she thinks it is her husband and so she says: "I've done something terrible, I've requested our brother-in-law to contribute your pay."

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[1] M personal names have three parts which traditionally appear in this order: (1) a family name; (2) a given name; and (3) for men a caste title (for Brahmins the title is Sharma, for non-Brahmins the title is Singh); for women of any caste the title is Devi; for Moslem women the title is Begum, for Moslem men the title is Malik; those reacting against the imposition of Hinduism on Manipuri culture have adopted final names that refer to race and not caste, for men this is Meetei and for women this is Chanu. Chungkham Yashawanta Singh (1989b) notes that a women's name might also indicate her marital status: a married woman might add Ongbi after the family name, a single woman might add Ningol after the family name. If Ongbi or Ningol are used, the final titles Devi and Chanu must be dropped. I avoid using the caste/sex/religion/race titles in the alphabetization of M names since these do not distinguish between authors as clearly as family names. It is not always possible to use family names since some authors have stopped using their family name and now exclusively use their caste title as a last name. In these cases the caste title is used to alphabetize the work.

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